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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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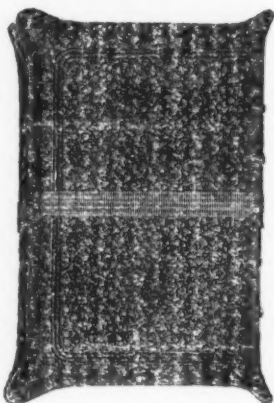
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METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1894.

ART. I.—DOGMA AND OPINION WITHIN ROMAN BOUNDS.

THE author once remarked to a learned and orthodox Roman Catholic clergyman of our country that the boundaries between dogma and free opinion in his Church seemed extremely uncertain, and one might suppose that even great Catholic divines would be sometimes puzzled to fix them. He laughed, and replied: "You might have omitted the 'sometimes.'" This state of things may receive some illustration from the present condition of American Presbyterianism in its principal branch. Here the great majority insist that various points are obligatory on belief, at least within their bounds, which the minority insist are not involved by any necessity of interpretation within the terms of the Confession of Faith and, therefore, ought to be left to free discussion.

The Roman Catholic Church, however, being so much older, so much vaster, and spread over so many more various regions than is a particular Protestant Church of a particular country, may be expected to be at once much broader and much more bigoted in its theology than any local denomination—much broader, as having been taught, by the experience of so many ages and of so many lands, how much that at this or that time may have appeared essential to the substance of the Christian message has turned out to be really only a part of its varying form; much more bigoted, because, whenever a particular theological tendency may have gained reigning force within the Church, it can break its way with so tremendous a strength

of numbers over the resistance of minorities. Two Protestant students of the Roman Catholic system, therefore, or the same student at different times, may enlarge with equal justice, now on the remarkable and benignant liberality of her theology, now on its relentless narrowness and severity. Whenever Rome has a strong and permanent interest in pressing certain interpretations of doctrines, then she may be expected to be as severe as the dread of an incurable schism will allow, if she even suffers such a dread to stay her hand. On the contrary, she may be expected to be carelessly magnanimous as to all that vast range of theological speculation, much of it of great intrinsic moment, which hangs but loosely on the central trunk. In such a case it is almost *quot homines, tot sententiæ*. The various schools or various theologians may belabor each other lustily, and may hurl mutual accusations of heterodoxy with small respect to consequences, precisely after our Protestant fashion; but Rome sits calmly by, perhaps even laughing in her sleeve at the humors of the fray, and only interposing now and then to remind the contestants not to be too free with imputations of heresy where the Church has not spoken. These exhortations are sometimes heeded, and perhaps much more frequently evaded. A theological teacher, for instance, belonging, say, to one of the two great Thomist schools (of whose distinctive tenets we may remark that we are blissfully ignorant) will sometimes observe to his pupils: "The pope has forbidden us to call the other side heretics; but if the facts call them heretics, I am not responsible for the facts." The long contest between the Dominicans and Franciscans over the Immaculate Conception affords a notable instance of these recriminations. For centuries, all papal prohibitions to the contrary notwithstanding, great numbers of the Franciscans, in their zeal for the honor of Mary, appear to have treated the whole Dominican order, that bulwark of orthodoxy and of the Inquisition, as itself little better than a school and synagogue of heretics. They persevered in this temper until, at last, with the help of the rising order of the Jesuits, they conquered the courage of the Dominicans to contend for the original corruption of the whole race except the Redeemer. In our own time they have harshly coerced the *Ordo Prædicatorum* and celebrated, in this particular, their final triumph over the doctrine and disciples of St. Thomas.

Rome, we may remark, plays in these disputes very much the part of the crown in England—in theory the ultimate authority, yet in fact rather embodying the reigning tendency than itself originating it. Yet the supremacy of Rome is so far a fact as this—that, on the whole, the Italian temper has principally determined the complexion of Roman Catholicism, and that, almost in proportion as the rights of nationality have developed themselves in a Catholic country in the civil and intellectual spheres, they have been more and more circumscribed by Italian jealousy within the religious sphere. Of this process of gradual subjugation, as we know, the Jesuits have been the main agents. Inheriting Spanish bigotry and Italian formalism, yet having a far keener instinct of the new era than the elder orders, as being themselves the children of it, they have finally brought it to pass that a papal decision of doctrine seems very commonly to be little more than an official ratification of what it pleases the all-powerful Society to decree.

In speaking of Roman Catholicism, we have to do as astronomers do about the fixed stars, whose light is so long in reaching us that when we use the present tense we really mean the past. Time was, and lasted for some six or seven generations after the Reformation, when Roman Catholic internal controversies were almost as open and virulent as Catholic controversies with Protestantism. At last, however, the decline of specific theological interest, and the guardianship assumed by the Jesuits over what remained, brought the old temper of virile courage and frankness to an end. The dying agony may be described as having lasted from 1801 till 1870. In the old times of Molinism and Jansenism, a Protestant found it about as easy as a Catholic to keep *au fait* of the dispute; but now that theological variance, though perhaps as deep as ever, has been so largely reduced to undertones, we may have to watch long for the outward complexion of the Church to change sufficiently to give us note of what has been going on within.

Will the present doctrinal predominance of Jesuitism in the Roman Catholic Church be permanent? That is something which no one, above all, no Protestant, can decide. The current of Jesuit influence is strong; but we do not know what deeper currents may be flowing beneath, soon to come to the surface, reversing it or absorbing it. The most encouraging

symptom is the unquestionable and perhaps permanent discomfiture of Jesuitism in the conduct of the apostolic delegation in our country; in the marked papal favor shown to the Archbishop of St. Paul; in the energy with which the inauguration of the Washington University, so distasteful to the Jesuits, has been accomplished; and in the vehemence and, we may say, virulence with which we sometimes see the Jesuits attacked in some of those Catholic papers which have been most graciously complimented by authority—as, for instance, in the *Western Watchman*. These symptoms of revolt, it is true, are local; but, should they find a succession of popes to encourage them, they might soon overthrow the Jesuit control in Catholicism at large. American contagion is beginning to spread even to the center of the Church; though it is true that the bondage of thought seems rather to deepen than remit.

Assuming, therefore, that it is possible and, perhaps, probable that the Roman Catholicism of the future, without losing its continuity of doctrine or administration, may be keyed on a very different note from that of the present, it is interesting to inquire how large a range of doctrine is left as yet undecided. Examination, I think, will surprise us. The flippant confidence with which so many popular lecturers undertake to determine what is essential to Roman Catholic doctrine is discreditable to them and misleading to the public. It is reflected, indeed, from the similar and less excusable behavior of many Roman Catholic divines, who, as the learned Recollet Franciscan Chrismann scornfully remarks, have a perfect mania for fettering the consciences of the faithful by making out all sorts of opinions to be essential to the faith which, whether true or false, are established neither by Scripture, nor early tradition, nor universal consent of the fathers, and therefore lack every criterion to be applied to articles of faith. This book of Chrismann, printed at Würzburg in 1854 and entitled, *Regula Fidei et Collectio Dogmatum Credendorum*, is at the foundation of this paper, although he is not to be understood as responsible for all that we may say.

The ultimate theorem, assumed by all Roman Catholics without dispute, evaded by the Vatican Council, but not contradicted even by that, is this: Nothing can be established as a part of the Catholic faith which is not included in the apostolic

message as a fact or truth divinely revealed. Many positions are universally accepted among Roman Catholics—and many of these as of great theological importance, so that the whole present system of the Church would be sadly shaken if they were discredited—which, nevertheless, are confessed to be incapable of definition as articles of faith. For instance, says Chrismann, all Catholics believe that St. Peter was for a number of years bishop of Rome, and left the primacy of the Church to his successors in the bishopric. Yet neither fact is any part of the apostolic message, whether written or oral. It is known only by human historical report, and therefore can never be an article of faith. That Peter had the primacy, and that this is permanent in the Church, are positions deduced, in some way or other, from the Scriptures, and are at present enforced as of faith; but that the Roman bishop must always be the primate is not of faith.

It is not denied by many Roman Catholics, if by any, that revelations may have been repeatedly made by God to holy men and women, living long after the apostles, concerning spiritual truths of high importance—as, for instance, the nature or degree of celestial or infernal awards, or of purgatorial pains, or concerning certain courses of conduct, or perhaps certain devout observances, as being peculiarly helpful to salvation, or concerning various points of ecclesiastical policy, or the future fortunes of the Church. Some of these supposed visions or revelations may have been officially sanctioned by Rome or assumed as true in the acts of great councils, and may have regulated belief and practice during many ages. We speak hypothetically, yet not without considerable support of fact. Think how powerful the Virgin of Lourdes now is in the Church! Yet it is allowed that these revelations can never be defined as of faith, nor those who reject them excommunicated as heretics. The pressure of public opinion might make the lives of such skeptics a burden to them, but could not well drive them out of the Church. We cannot answer for what extravagant superstition may yet accomplish; but so far it has not accomplished this. Should such beliefs decline, or finally be given up universally, Catholic opinion and practice in various regions would be greatly modified; yet the essence of the faith would not have been touched, nor the doctrinal infallibility of

the Church discredited, since it is not as yet claimed by the Church that the gift of infallibility has been bestowed upon her for any other end than to unfold the truths divinely revealed through the prophets and apostles.

How far does Roman Catholicism claim unchangeableness for the Church, and how far does she admit the Church to be changeable? She claims unchangeableness in the following particulars: (1) That body of Christians adhering to Rome has never been suffered to deny any truth divinely revealed, or permanently to accept as of faith anything except what has been divinely revealed through apostles or prophets, received in early tradition, and accepted with substantial unanimity by the fathers. (2) The Church as above defined has never failed of a valid and legitimate episcopate and priesthood, gathered under a legitimate primacy. The episcopate, being incapable of renewal if lost, can never be interrupted; the primacy, being a jurisdiction, not an order, may be interrupted or confused, but has always, after such interruption or confusion, been recovered and authentically determined. (3) In matters of discipline and policy, which are not matters of faith, the Church, though depressed by human infirmity and often deeply stained by human sin, has, on the whole, been so guided as to advance the ends of the kingdom of God.

In all other particulars, such as the precise form and measure of ordinary papal jurisdiction, the methods of papal and episcopal election, the varying rank and authority of different bishoprics, the historical privileges of national Churches, the marriage or celibacy of the clergy, the communion in one or both species, the language to be used in divine worship, the particular forms of ritual, the greater or less veneration given to saints or images, the relative authority of local tradition, the greater or less emphasis laid on monastic seclusion and vows, the varying relations of the Church to the State, and many other matters, it is acknowledged that the Church may, and often should, change from age to age, from country to country, nay, often from diocese to diocese. In all these secondary matters, not imagined to be fixed by any institution of Christ, Rome is so far from priding herself on being unchangeable that she claims a flexibility far beyond that which she exemplifies in fact. In other words, on the unvarying foundation of faith,

tradition, and hierarchical succession, she claims an almost illimitable liberty of varying the superstructure of the Church, so that it may correspond with all the infinite varieties of the human race. Had Rome allowed as wide a range of liberty as she claims the right to allow, it is possible that there might never have been a break in either the East or the West. There are strenuous Roman Catholics who, while esteeming the East schismatical and the Protestant West heretical, seem not ill-inclined to put the main blame for both divisions on the Vatican itself.

There are two profoundly different tendencies in defining apostolic tradition. The elder view, and certainly much the more obvious, is this: Whatever doctrine is not found in the writings of any Church father down, say, to Gregory the Great, in the year 600, and in the East to John of Damascus, a century or two later, or, being found, is rejected by a part of those that are acknowledged as Fathers, cannot have been a part of the apostolic message. Therefore, even if reasonable, probable, or conducing to doctrinal completeness, nay, even if morally certain, it can never be defined as an article of faith. One who denies it may be very unreasonable, but he can never be heretical. On the other hand, in the course of the ages a great many opinions have gained prevalence in the Latin Church and become an integral part of its concrete Catholicism which are not found in the Scriptures, and which are either wholly absent from the fathers or only mentioned as speculative tenets, to be accepted or rejected at discretion. Now those that are especially devoted to these opinions not unnaturally, however unjustifiably, like to have them put under the shield of full ecclesiastical authorization and defined as articles of faith. This has resulted in the invention, in our own day, of the doctrine of "latent tradition." It assumes that the doctrines in question are wrapped up in some texts of Scripture which certainly do not appear to contain them, or have been buried in obscure nooks of the Church, or it may be in dark corners of some Roman basilica, and that it is competent for the gathered episcopate or for the pope to bring them out of this latency and to define them as binding on faith.

Here, as we see, we have two incompatible tendencies and principles. The former is the regulation of dogma by history.

The latter is the triumph of dogma over history, as it has been styled by its passionate champion, Cardinal Manning. In its final form it is embodied in the reply made by Pius IX to Cardinal Guidi, when the latter urged that separate papal infallibility had no support from tradition: "*La tradizione son io*"—"I am tradition." In other words, evidence is not to govern the establishment of doctrine, but irresponsible will. This principle of despotic lawlessness prevailed completely at the Vatican Council, which has been rightly called the "Vatican Mockery"—*Iudibrium Vaticanum*. But it raised such a storm of indignation throughout the Christian world as frightened even the victors, and the next year Bishop Fessler, secretary of the pretended council, impelled, it is understood, by Pius himself, published an explanation which evacuates it of a great deal of its force.

We, of course, would fain assume, so long as it is possible, that manliness, independence, love of truth, knowledge, and the power of drawing from undoubted facts their necessary deductions have not finally perished out of the Roman Catholic Church, even under the nightmare of the Vatican Council, with its combination of idolatrous slavishness in the majority and blasphemous arrogance in its Roman lord. We should be glad to believe that this vast company of Christian churches, in which, as Luther says of it in his day, "many and mighty saints have remained under the pope," has not been providentially meant to sink into hopeless ignorance and servility, nor yet to break up into a number of warring schisms. Allowing this, what weapons are yet left in the Roman Catholic system of doctrines of which a more independent and evangelical temper may possibly avail itself to break down the present reign of curialistic despotism? We cannot well expect that at present the ecumenical character of the Vatican Council can be successfully called in question. The machinery of repression and suppression is too completely in the hands of its friends for this. Nevertheless, what is not possible to-day is sometimes accomplished to-morrow. Assuming, not as a fact, nor even as a brilliant probability, but as an abstract possibility, that, under a happy pontificate, there may yet appear sufficient resilient force in the Church to break the present yoke of terrorism and of pure subjective idolatry of the pope, what posi-

tions remain yet unforbidden which the better spirit can lay hold of to accomplish this result?

It can never be of faith that any particular council is ecumenical, since every council is an event occurring long after the apostles. Papal ratification cannot make it ecumenical, since the question is one of fact—contingent, not contained in original tradition, and therefore out of the range of even the pope's professed infallibility. If, as can be proved of the *Vaticanum* by all manner of evidence, a council is made up of voting members a large part of whom have no certain right to vote, while others have certainly no right to vote; if it is gathered in a hall in which four fifths of the members cannot understand the speeches; if its order of business and choice of officers are both withdrawn from its competence; if free discussion, by all manner of restrictive rules, is made impossible to it; if it is sternly refused access to the acts of a great preceding council, lest it should learn the full extent of its own prerogatives; if a great proportion of its members are so completely dependent on the *curia* as to be compelled by the argument of hunger to vote as this wills; if the civil authority, blended with the ecclesiastical, exerts a constant coercive power upon it; if the right, inherent in every governing bishop, to give witness to the tradition of his particular church is abridged; if the right of the council to consult with the most learned theologians of the Church is essentially hampered; if an independent minority is continually browbeaten by violent invectives of the pope and by an incessant succession of inflammatory popular agitations encouraged by him; if all the precedents of the great uncontested councils are set at naught; and if the free testimony of Catholic Christendom as to the real character of the council is intercepted by threats of excommunication against everyone who dares to state the facts as they are—then, by principles which Roman Catholicism itself has not yet ventured to deny in theory, however much it may belie them in practice, the Vatican Council has no right to be called ecumenical. Of course, if the Vatican Council should eventually be rejected (and councils whose formal claims are greatly superior in almost everything but numbers have been disowned by the Church) the doctrinal infallibility of the pope would go with it and would be hopelessly discredited. Pius

IX might then be anathematized for heresy, blasphemy, and intolerable tyranny, as Honorius I has been anathematized for simple heresy. Or, if a milder time spares his person, there will certainly be no occasion to spare his policy.

Indeed, even on Roman Catholic premises it is not certain that any Western councils have ecumenical claims. That haughtiest of the popes, Boniface VIII, did not profess to call more than seven councils ecumenical—those that had been acknowledged before the great breach of East and West in 1054. If the ultramontanes should urge that the East by obstinate schism has ceased to be a part of the universal Church, and that its bishops have thereby lost their right to sit in a universal council, it can be shown by a redundancy of testimony that the earlier Church knew nothing of any such test of unity. Whether a bishop was at peace or at feud with Rome, he had equally a right to sit in a general council. The president of the first Council of Constantinople, Meletius of Antioch, was at the time out of communion with Rome; yet no one disputed his right to preside. Dying during the council, he was immediately canonized, and has for nearly fifteen hundred years stood alike in the Greek and in the Roman calendars. St. Chrysostom, as Father Puller points out, until his fifty-first year had never been for a day in communion with Rome; yet neither in his own estimation nor in that of the East had he ever lapsed from the unity of the Catholic Church. When already Bishop of Constantinople he at length made up the quarrel, yet by no submission, nor with any acknowledgment of wrong. Indeed, Rome, in spite of herself, cannot make thorough work of her assertion that the Greeks are out of the Catholic Church. She does not call them heretics; she has never dreamed of denying their orders; she has not denied that their bishops are legitimate pastors, having the power of the keys. Even lately she has sent formal congratulations to the Patriarch of Constantinople on his accession. The Greeks receive no Western councils and reject the *Vaticanum* with scorn; yet even now Rome does not venture to impugn their orthodoxy. She feels the consciousness of a common Catholicism. As Dr. Schaff says, pride, in the breast of Rome, has been often baffled in its aims by doctrinal conscientiousness and by the instincts of brotherhood.

On the other hand, the Greeks are perfectly ready to acknowledge that the Bishop of Rome is the primate of the universal Church. They do not acknowledge this preeminence as of divine right; but they accept it as an ancient and venerable historical development, having a significant connection even with Peter's primacy. As they represent especially orthodoxy, so they admit that Rome represents especially unity. They allow the inconveniences of being out of union with the central Church, and the advantages for energy of Christian action of being conjoined with it. If Anglicanism, for instance, should divide into several great contending masses we can see that the churches adhering to Canterbury would hold their heads the highest, especially if they were half the whole body. Yet Canterbury claims no divine right of presidency. Thus the Greeks do not dispute the grievousness of the breach with Rome. Yet they put the blame where it mainly belongs—on her intolerable haughtiness and untenable pretensions.

Supposing now that the historical spirit should at length get control in the Church, could it finally cast down these pretensions without destroying the sense of ecclesiastical identity? It could not, certainly, without destroying the Roman Catholic denomination. But that is a late thing. It really does not antedate the Council of Trent. The decisions of Trent, it is easy to see, are from beginning to end reactionary. Reaction against new views is not always unsound. It is often highly necessary in order to preserve deep truths and important traditions. The Reformation was not at all points wise or true. It let free the imprisoned evangelical consciousness of the North to blessed ends of freedom and faith and widening works of good. It let free also, of necessity, all manner of tumultuous unripeness of opinion and action, threatening forces of disintegration and anarchy. The doctrinal decisions of Trent, for a vast part of the world, have served essentially to keep Christianity from volatilizing itself into an impotent cloud. Yet unhappily the council fell under the prevailing control of the narrow-minded and frightened element, not of the large-minded and courageous. How very different the results might have been had the council been guided by men like Pole and Contarini, or even like Cajetan! There were men adhering

to Rome and high in ecclesiastical or civil trust who were well disposed to throw overboard the whole mass of mediæval rubbish and to give doctrinal explanations which, while distinctly Catholic, should allow a large range to theories that were shut out by the frightened fathers of Trent. Pole and Contarini, for instance, while decisively rejecting much of Luther's extravagance (polemical rather than strictly doctrinal), would have been glad to establish the doctrine of justification by faith in very much such a form as it appears under in the *Pauline Theology* of Professor Stevens. So deep were the divisions as to this great article that the bishops actually came to blows over it. Yet the Spaniards and Italians carried the day, and set up a mechanical and semipharisaical theory which neither the scriptural nor the spiritual apprehensions of Protestantism could possibly accept.

So as to purgatory. Rome favors the prevalent Protestant belief that the elect are made perfect at death, that the last remains of sin are purged away with the parting breath. Yet she has not prescribed this opinion as of faith; nor has Lutheranism or Anglicanism. The opinion, therefore, that even in the regenerate moral imperfection may often survive death, and may need in some form the providential discipline of pain for its extinction, is not really a point at issue between the Reformation as a whole and Catholicism. On the other hand, Rome prescribes as of faith that the departed elect, though now sinless, even in impulse, may be held for varying terms to meet the penal consequences of even forgiven sin. No one disputes this as to earthly life, and Rome maintains that in this the conditions of earthly life may survive the grave, though not the final judgment. This latter view Protestantism has rejected almost unanimously, yet less by logical necessity than by disgust at the coarse and hard legalism of its form. Nor is the belief that the communion of saints implies a benefit to the faithful departed from the intercessions of the living either involved in Protestantism or opposed to it. It lies outside the range of its essential principle. The question whether an unconverted soul can be regenerated after death is answered by Rome with an emphatic negative. What is known as the Andover view she repels as a deep error. She admits future expiation, but utterly rejects future probation. Trent has es-

tablished the doctrine of purgatory in mild and general terms, defining neither the nature and extent and duration of its pains, nor the mode or degree of certainty with which the intercessions of the Church avail for the mitigation of them. It also deprecates popular superstitions on the subject. But if it had been under a bolder control it would have laid the ax to the root of these superstitions, by abrogating or rigorously restricting private masses, by reintroducing the ancient usage of one eucharist for one day in one church, by abolishing all stipends for masses, and by declaring to all the Church that neither masses nor indulgences avail for the holy dead except so far as God, in his hidden wisdom, may see fit to regard them. This is the actual doctrine of Rome, but it needs an enlightening energy of proclamation to work against the magical superstitions of the untutored multitudes. All this Trent has failed to do. Happily, however, she did not set up doctrinal barriers against the possibility that it may be done by a future council truly ecumenical.

On one great point Trent, if not positively, was at least negatively, independent. Rome could not prevail on the council to set forth any theory of the papacy, or even to declare it of divine right. The fathers of the council deal with it as an august and ancient fact, and stop there. They declare that they do not mean to encroach upon the rights of the holy see, but they do not define these nor declare them invariable or even perpetual. The papacy, notwithstanding the great and, indeed, excessive awe with which it is regarded by the fathers of Trent, is evidently no more an absolutely substantial part of their Catholicism than it had been in that of the fathers of Constance.

Suppose, now, that the spirit of historical candor, which is really the plenary consciousness of Christ prevailing over the imperfect and partial apprehensions of his disciples (as admirably set forth of late by Principal Fairbairn), should gain control in the Roman Catholic Church. It is evidently making way within it, as it is throughout Christendom. What would be the result if it should become supreme? The result would evidently be to send Vaticanism and a great part of Tridentinism into the limbo of outworn and forgotten pretensions, along with the donation of Constantine, the pseudo-Isidorian decretals, the fable of Pope Joan, Adrian the Fourth's compact

with the devil, and a thousand other fictions, some advancing, others disparaging, the papacy. The disappearance of all these errors, some of gradual growth, others violently obtruded upon the Church, would not interrupt the continuity of Catholicism, nor even of Roman Catholicism, regarded, not as a sect, but as the strongest exponent of tendency in the Christian Church. It would simply break up the artificial sectarian exaggeration of Romanism under which the latter has subsisted for the last three centuries. The majesty of the genuine Christian tradition would come out of this purifying process with new resplendency.

Meanwhile, in waiting for this good hour, what points of importance are still left open to free discussion, even since the *Vaticanum*? We mention some, as adduced by the Franciscan Chrismann. We give them as they occur in his book, without undertaking to classify them in the order of importance:

1. All postapostolic doctrines and miracles, and all postapostolic doctrines confirmed by miracles, however illustrious, merit at most only a human and variable faith.

2. The inferences from an article of faith, however clear, are not themselves articles of faith, unless the prior proposition is unintelligible without them.

3. A papal or conciliar definition of doctrine, even when legitimate and authoritative, is not irreversible, unless it sets forth a truth divinely revealed through the apostles and unanimously held in the early Church.

4. The Vulgate is, for all essential ends of doctrine, authentic, but, as Pope Leo XIII remarks in his recent encyclical, not in the sense that it is always an accurate translation of the originals.

5. Neither an individual man nor a plurality, even though all of them be fathers, canonized saints, and doctors of the Church, can establish any proposition as of faith unless supported by the universal consent of the early Church.

6. The Church is not infallible in teaching truths deduced only from reason, not from revelation.

7. The Church is not infallible in pronouncing any man a heretic, since she may have misunderstood his meaning.

8. The Church is not infallible in the enactment of merely ecclesiastical laws or ceremonies.

9. No particular council, diocesan, provincial, or national,

even if approved by the pope, is infallible, although a subsequent reception by the whole Church may make its decisions binding on faith.

10. Even an ecumenical council is not promised infallible assistance if negligent or precipitate in its action. The same reservation naturally applies to the pope.

11. The reasonings and allegations of a council or pope in defense of a doctrine are not a part of the doctrine and do not bind faith.

12. It is lawful to invoke the intercession of departed saints, but not obligatory; nor is it certain that this invocation of their intercession has any religious character, more than a similar request addressed to the living.

13. It is not a certainty of faith that the saints hear our prayers, still less that they infallibly secure the objects desired.

14. Veneration paid to images of Christ and the saints is lawful, but not obligatory.

15. Those who hold it unlawful to portray the Father, the Spirit, or the Trinity, do not sin against faith.

16. The veneration of relics is lawful, but not obligatory, and has no certainly religious value.

17. It is of faith that Christ has instituted all the seven sacraments, but not that he has instituted them all in his immediate earthly presence.

18. The indelible character of baptism, confirmation, and orders is not certainly a modification of the soul. It may only be an indefeasible right to the benefits contained in these sacraments, under due conditions.

19. It is lawful to believe that a sacrament is valid where the due rites are observed, with the purpose of an exterior celebration, even though the inward volition of the minister should wickedly contradict his outward act, so that the faithful are not dependent on the chances of his sincerity.

20. It is not of faith that the sacrifice of the eucharist is propitiatory in the same sense as that of the cross, nor that Christ's presence in it is local.

21. Although contrary to prevailing opinion, it is still lawful to maintain that he whose hatred of sin proceeds only from the fear of hell, and not from the love of God, cannot receive a valid absolution.

22. It is of faith that the Church, through indulgences, can remit arrears of canonical penance due to herself, but not that she can remit arrears of temporal punishment, on earth or in purgatory, due to God. And if she can it is not of faith that she can do this otherwise than *per modum suffragii*, that is, in the way of intercession, efficacious so far as God's infinite wisdom may decide.

23. It is not even rash to maintain that the inferior orders, from subdeacon down, are nonsacramental. It is rash, but not heretical, to maintain that the diaconate is nonsacramental. It is heretical to deny that the priesthood is sacramental.

24. It is probable, but not certain, that at least every believer has a guardian angel assigned him by God.

25. It is commonly, but not necessarily, believed that each soul undergoes a particular judgment immediately after death.

26. The place, severity, and duration of purgatorial pains are matters of free opinion.

27. It is not of faith to hold that there is literal fire in purgatory.

28. The coercive physical power of the Church is not an article of faith.

The notorious syllabus and accompanying encyclical are a later thing. It seems never to have been settled, even in the mind of Pius himself, whether they are to be viewed as binding on faith. John Henry Newman decidedly denies this. After publishing this view he was raised to the purple by Leo XIII. It appears, therefore, that Leo does not hold it as heretical to deny the conclusive force of the syllabus and encyclical. The Jesuitizing school goes much further than Christmann, but its opinions are thus far not binding on faith.

Charles C. Starbuck

ART. II.—RECIPROCITY OF ART AND RELIGION.

THE art sentiment, like the religious instinct, is as universal as human intelligence. Savagery cannot sink below it, nor can civilization rise above it. No condition of ignorance or of education can eliminate it from the life and nature of men. The untutored savage who fantastically decorates his body, paints his tent, dyes with various colors his garments, gives grotesque fashion to his idol, or adds adornment to the tombs of his dead is as truly endowed with the universal art-feeling as the genius that creates a Parthenon, frescoes a Sistine, or paints a "Transfiguration." There is in man's nature something to which art makes an irresistible appeal. We have mental, if not moral, demands which art alone can meet, just as there is within our human intelligence that to which only poetry, music, or religion can appeal and minister. Truth is essentially one, though multifarious. Science, nature, music, poetry, art, and religion are but different keys of the infinite organ of truth. A prayer, a psalm, a flower, a picture is each a partial expression, revelation, or interpretation of something even greater than itself, of something greater than ourselves—even the true, the beautiful, the perfect, the ideal, the divine.

Art, as a form of truth, an interpretation of the beautiful, or a symbolization of the spiritual and the divine, has always had a place and power among men. The art of a people, no less than their literature, science, law, and ethics, is an index of their culture, since it is a sincere expression of their taste and aspiration, the embodiment of their ideal. Moreover, as art is an index and manifestation of a people's æsthetic instinct and development, so it is also one of the most effectual mediums of enlightenment, one of the most powerful promoters of refined taste, elevated thought, and elegant manners. The art of Greece, no less than her literature; the works of Phidias, Apelles, and Praxiteles, no less than the epics of Homer, the dialogues of Plato, and the tragedies of Æschylus, were the measure of the greatness and splendor of Grecian civilization. Whether we study the progressive development of ancient or of modern peoples—of the Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, or of the Italians, Spaniards, French, Germans, Dutch,

and English—we shall find their art forever indicating their mental and moral, and even their social and political, tendencies as clearly and positively as do their science, their laws, and their letters.

The power of art is the power of the beautiful; but the philosophy of the power of the beautiful is not easily understood. Poets and artists, musicians and naturalists, prophets and sages have been the faithful apostles and exponents of the beautiful without fully comprehending its nature, as men have preached God the Infinite without knowing him to perfection. The world's philosophers, however, have given us some very worthy and inspiring ideas of the nature and mission of beauty. Ruskin (and, if we may claim that Plato's "absolute beauty" was spiritual and personal, then the "divine" Plato, with Ruskin) makes all beauty typical of divine attributes, an emanation of spiritual beauty, a symbol and expression of it. Hegel puts an "idea" into every form, and makes beauty to be the shining forth of that "idea" through a sensuous medium. Kant taught that the highest meaning of beauty is the symbolization of moral good. Socrates also taught that nothing is beautiful which is not good, and nothing good but what is at the same time beautiful. He further taught that what is good and beautiful must necessarily be useful. Herder and, before him, Plato advanced the doctrine that the beautiful carries with it the idea of perfection, the absolute, and the ideal. These theories all seem to have a rich measure of meaning for us in a consideration of the reciprocal relations of art and religion. If we claim that art is an interpretation of nature, we do not find ourselves in conflict with Goethe's statement, that beauty is both the final principle and the highest aim of art, since art, indeed, interprets nature for no other purpose than to more fully open our eyes to what is therein beautiful, perfect, and thus most adequately symbolic of the divine.

In its æsthetic ministry art has come to serve religion; and therein it attempts to interpret, not only nature, but also the supernatural in the ever-fascinating formularies of the beautiful. Art has found its loftiest themes, its holiest inspirations, and its most sympathetic encouragement in religion. Trace the history of art to as remote a period as we will, wherever we find it in those earliest endeavors, in those first aspirings

and promises, it will be related to and dependent upon the prevailing religion. Whether it be the rude art of the Pueblos, Toltecs, or Aztecs of ancient and prehistoric America, or the first crude expressions of art-feeling and taste in Egypt, Greece, or Babylonia, it will have a distinct and an entirely religious character. Religion, art, and music seem to have had so remote an origin in human history that the student fails to discover the time when they did not exist and flourish. From their earliest developments to the present time they have been inseparable, reciprocal in their benign ministrations and sympathies, and cooperative in their ennobling mission to mankind. One may very easily trace the sciences to their beginnings. Astronomy, geology, philology, ethnology, mathematics, and logic, as formulated sciences, all have a clearly defined origin. Literature, likewise, and political government belong within the limits of comparatively well-known dates of history. But religion and art have a history back of history, and their beginnings are too remote for definite date. It can only be said that with man began religion, and with religion began art.

Our only reliable source of information regarding the religions of the prehistoric races of America is the art which still remains in the ruins of Arizona, New Mexico, Mexico, Yucatan, and Peru. The ancient architecture, pottery, and sculpture to be found there all bear the impress of a religious origin, and all have a religious meaning. Even their idols, which remind us of the idols of the Assyrians and Babylonians, and at times of those of the Chinese and Japanese, are, like all idols, a union of art and religion—art in its crudity and religion in its crudity. There is in them an imperfect taste, an imperfect worship, and an incomplete and inadequate, if not wholly false, expression of truth. But even the idol represents a people's religious and artistic endeavors. It tells of the mind's groping after the light of truth and God, and seeking, the best way it knew, the solution of the mysterious problem of human destiny. While the art of vanished races gives us a knowledge of their religion, we see therein that their religion inspired their art, and thus became the power which, above all others, perpetuated their names.

The religious sentiment, however, has inspired higher forms of art, even the highest. The rude altar by the wayside where

migratory tribes have offered an evening or morning sacrifice is an expression of both art and religion—religion creating the art, and art aiding religion and stimulating the spirit of worship in kindly, almost inspired, reciprocity. When the tribes combine, cease their wanderings, and settle into a social and political community in some genial clime and fertile locality, the altar becomes more permanent and more artistic. About it rises the temple, and the temple grows in beauty and grandeur, becoming in its turn more and more artistic. Taste for the beautiful in form and proportion develops with the development of the material symbols of worship, which have been created from desire to express the heart's religious sentiments in forms, altars, temples, and ceremonies presumably most attractive and acceptable to the eyes of the Creator of nature's beauty. From this center of artistic expression radiates an æsthetic influence, until all the departments of human life seek the ministry of art, which thus becomes an evangel of universal refinement, culture, and purity. When we advance to a consideration of the art of which the highest civilizations have been able to boast, it will be found that religion is still its creative life, and that the most perfect development of art becomes, not only a school of taste, but even more conspicuously a school of ethics and worship.

It is significant that atheism never created, never inspired, a single great form or expression of the sublime and beautiful for the refinement of human taste, the encouragement of human life, the promotion of human happiness, and the development of human righteousness. Atheism has not inspired a single one of the greatest poems, orations, constitutions, or masterpieces of art. These superlative achievements in literature, music, law, and art would have been forever impossible but for the creative and inspiring influence of religion. Heine one day stood before the cathedral of Amiens with a friend, who, after studying the imposing structure with awe and wonder, turned and asked the poet why we were not able to build such edifices in our day. Heine replied: "My dear Alphonse, men in those olden days had convictions. We moderns have only opinions, and something more than a mere opinion is necessary to the erection of such a Gothic cathedral." It has taken something more than mere opinions to write the great songs, com-

pose the great oratorios, found the great constitutions, fight the great battles, make the great discoveries, and create the glorious art which have promoted freedom and civilization. It has taken convictions—strong, wise, authoritative, and religious convictions.

That art has been degraded to ignoble uses of vice and superstition will not be denied; but like degrading uses have been made of literature, music, science, and even religion. And, if a vicious abuse of art on the part of the base and sensual would justify the pure and good in repudiating its ministry and denying its refining, elevating character, then on the same ground must the righteous of this earth repudiate literature, science, music, and religion itself. We speak of high art—art high in its purpose and aim, sincere, expressive of the best in the mind and life of the peoples producing it. In all such art we find religion as its very soul and life.

When we study the art of the *Renaissance* in the sculpture, painting, and architecture of Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, in the works of Brunelleschi, Angelo, Bramante, Raphael, and Da Vinci, behold, it is all intensely religious. The religious feeling made it possible, developed it, nourished it, glorified it. But the Parthenon at Athens had as religious an origin as St. Peter's of Rome, nay, as theological, as sectarian, an origin. It was to the Greek religion what St. Peter's is to the Roman Catholic religion. What meanings, moreover, have these statues of classic art-creation—Apollo, Mars, Mercury, Minerva, Jupiter? These are the gods and goddesses of the Greek Pantheon or the deified heroes and heroines of the Greek mythology. They are as religious in origin and meaning as the statues of Moses and David created by Angelo. It is quite remarkable that men should ever denounce the religiousness, the theology, of the art of the *Renaissance*—the art of Angelo, Raphael, Angelico, Titian, and Da Vinci—and praise what they call classic art, when there is no art in existence more completely religious and theological than classic art. Phidias, Apelles, and Praxiteles expressed their ideas of the gods in quite as narrow and sectarian a spirit as did ever Angelico express his ideas of singing angels, or Raphael his idea of the Madonna, or Angelo his conception of Christ upon the judgment throne. The same is true in literature. Hesiod is

as theological in the "Theogony" as Moses in Genesis. Homer is as theological in the "Iliad" as Dante in the "Divine Comedy." Callimachus is as theological in the "Hymns" as David in the Psalms. And thus religion has dominated the highest poetry as well as the highest art.

We need not limit our survey to any single age or race in studying the reciprocity of religion and art, but shall find that in all ages and among all peoples they have been very intimately related. The stone lions or pumas of New Mexico, carved more than ten centuries ago by the ancestors of the Pueblo Indians and still worshiped; the temple of serpent-shaped pillars at Tula, the pyramid of the sun, and the sculptured images of the sun god, rain god, and god of air and wisdom, the work of the Toltecs who settled at Tula as early as the sixth century, and tradition says the second; the ruins of the holy city of Palenque and of Aké, Izamal, and Chichen-Itza, with the well-preserved remains of statues and of temples, tombs, and palaces, adorned with bas-relief of a high order of workmanship, whose age has been variously estimated at from one to two thousand years—all show the relation of art to religion in the early barbarisms of America.

If we study the art remains of Babylonia and Assyria of thirty centuries ago we shall find the religions of those ancient peoples—the worship of Bel, the sun god, in particular—preserved on tile and stone, indicating that their art and religion had a common origin and a reciprocal relation one to the other. In the awe-inspiring art of old Egypt we find art the helpmeet of religion. Unearth her buried glory, contemplate the imposing relics of her vanished greatness, translate the significance of those stately columns and huge statues that stand to tell the ages of the ancient grandeur of the Nile. In these is the record of Egypt's God-seeking history. Here are her sighs and hopes and fears and prayers, her faith and aspirations and character, preserved in magnificent artistic expression. Those mighty temples and enduring pyramids cannot be interpreted except from a religious standpoint. They could have had no other origin than the people's notions of life and death, destiny and God. Let those pyramids be recognized as only magnificent tombs; yet it will appear that the old Egyptian ideas of death and of the future state gave rise, not only to their elabo-

rate funeral rites and their careful preparation of the dead for burial, but also to the artistic decorations of mummy cases and sarcophagi and the stupendous magnitude of the tombs of their great kings. The temples of Abu-Simbel, Edfoo, and El Karnak speak even in their splendid ruins of the ancient reciprocity and cooperation of art and religion. Egyptian religion, whether polytheistic or monotheistic, and in both her Theban and Memphite systems, gave origin to Egyptian art; and that art set forth to her own people, and even to all coming ages, the faith that was held by that mighty and mysterious race.

Turn to the spot where ancient culture reached its perfection and beauty attained its highest and noblest expression in sculpture, painting, and architecture. The history of art in Greece begins with the history of Athens. There, too, art had a religious origin. Whether introduced by Cecrops or Erechtheus, the worship of Minerva, or Athene, gave the city its name; and as early as B. C. 1400 a statue of Minerva was there erected as an object of worship. In Homer's time, say B. C. 900, art must have advanced to a very high state of perfection. The poet's description of the shield of Achilles, in the eighteenth book of the "Iliad," would certainly indicate a knowledge of sculpture, engraving, and enameling in various colored metals, if not of painting. That architecture was carried to great magnificence in building may be learned from the poet's description of the palace of Priam:

Raised on arch'd columns of stupendous frame—
O'er these a range of marble structure runs,
The rich pavilions of his fifty sons,
In fifty chambers lodg'd; and rooms of state
Oppos'd to those, where Priam's daughters sate.
Twelve domes for them and their loved spouses shone,
Of equal beauty, and of polish'd stone.

Paris also has his palace:

Himself the mansion rais'd, from ev'ry part
Assembling architects of matchless art.

If Homer is not guilty of an inexcusable anachronism, then the shield of Achilles and the palaces of Priam and Paris were possible creations of Greek art in the thirteenth, or even the fifteenth, century B. C. Homer is coming to be recognized as the founder of the composite Olympian religion. In his

epic the gods of the Greek Pantheon are familiar with art; and from his day, if not from some day far more remote, art was inseparable from the Olympian system. By Homer's teaching the handicrafts and arts were the gifts of the gods. The progress, no less than the genesis, of art in Greece was religious; and when it reached its climax of perfection in Athens, Phidias consecrated his genius to the gods—that is, to religion, as he understood it. The noblest productions of this incomparable artist were his statues of Jupiter and Minerva and his unrivaled sculptures in the Parthenon, dedicated to Minerva, the patron goddess of Athens. Apelles, too, the Raphael of Greece, consecrated his genius to the gods and made his glowing pencil teach the faith of the elegant Greeks.

We can understand Saracenic art only from the standpoint of Mohammedanism. That art takes character from the religion of the Koran, even in its very limitations. Beautiful and often imposing as was the architecture with which the Moors embellished Spain, reaching its climax in the chaste elegance of the Alhambra, noble as were the mosques which shined the symbols of their faith, the Saracens could not be great sculptors and painters, for they were forbidden to represent in art the form of any living being. Mohammedan architecture, however, is a very significant illustration of our theme, since it sets forth all that the Moslem religion can do for art and all that art can do for the Moslem religion. The limitations of the Mohammedan religion determine the limitations of Saracenic art. What we have said relative to the reciprocity of religion and art in Greece, Egypt, Babylonia, Mohammedan Europe and Asia, and ancient America, will apply to India, China, Japan, and ancient Palestine, where forms of religion have originated and given birth and character to forms of art.

Modern art found its origin in religion, if not in theology. It was not the offspring of superstition. It was born of faith in the Infinite, of a hope of immortality, of a sincere struggling of the human soul toward God. As soon as Christianity became a creative, regenerative, and formative power in society new literatures, new laws, new sciences, and a new art began to appear and to develop toward perfection. With the decline and fall of the Roman empire, if not much earlier, say, with the Roman subjugation of the artistic Greeks, came not

only the decline, but the almost total annihilation, of original art; and for a thousand years or more the world was deprived of enlightenment. Not a great song was sung, not a great philosophy was propounded, not a great work of art was created. Letters, art, and ethics all seemed to have become barbarianized. Ignorance and superstition prevailed where once had triumphed civilizations splendid with laws and letters, poetry and philosophy, art and arms.

There came, however, a morning to break the intellectual gloom of the Dark Ages—a morning of freedom, of emancipation. The star that heralded the coming day was Dante's wondrous song. Almost simultaneously with that poetic genius awoke the beautiful genius of art in the soul of Giotto. Giotto was perhaps the first to break away from the barbarism of Byzantine art. He was the disciple of Dante; and thus religion, through its noblest exponent in the fourteenth century, gave inspiration to the soul of him who was to become the herald, if not the founder, of modern art. Giotto was the forerunner of that generation of mighty geniuses whose creations in sculpture, architecture, and painting raised modern art to a rivalry with the noblest triumphs of the classic ages.

What is the leading characteristic of this art of the *Renaissance*, this art of Cimabue, Giotto, Brunelleschi, Bramante, and Michael Angelo, this art of Raphael, Titian, Correggio, and Da Vinci? It is religious; it is Christian. Christianity creates it, develops it, patronizes and supports it. It was the highest ambition of the old masters to make art the handmaid of religion; hence the religious character of their great works. Fra Angelico goes to his work in the spirit of a saint and prays for divine inspiration. The tears roll down his cheeks while he paints angelic forms on gloomy walls. Michael Angelo gives seventeen years of his time to building St. Peter's Cathedral, refusing all financial remuneration, and toiling on with his splendid genius to glorify God in the achievements of his art. The frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, which inaugurated a new era in the history of art, drew their inspiration from the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. They tell the Mosaic story of the creation and of the antediluvian world, portray the majestic figures of the Hebrew prophets, and then move forward to the end of time and depict the grandeur and solemnity of the

last judgment. The Sistine Chapel is full of the spirit of Christianity, glorified with scriptural truth. Angelo was a devout disciple of Savonarola, the reformer of the *Renaissance*, and a student of Dante, whose genius, character, and teachings were his inspiration in art. Angelo gave character to the art of the *Renaissance*, which thus became lofty, sublime, and Christian. Raphael caught his highest inspirations from Angelo and consecrated his matchless genius to religious uses. It must be admitted that the art of that time set forth in some instances what have come to be looked upon as errors, if not superstitions. But the religion of that time, while containing the sublimest truths of Christianity, also tolerated and taught many unverified traditions and fables. Art could not be nobler than the religion which gave it life. What is true in religion inspires what is true in art, and what is false in art comes from what is false in the religion which inspires it.

As Christianity has inspired art, so Christian art has glorified Christianity. It has set forth her doctrines, portrayed her saints, and even her very God and Saviour. Limited only by the necessary restrictions of her powers, art has been a teacher of things divine. It has robed religion in loveliness and crowned her white brow with jewels of beauty. It has reared the noblest structures that adorn the earth to her honor and service. Not to science, not to letters, not to philosophy, not to liberty, not to nature, not to art itself, but to religion has art dedicated its most glorious achievements, whether in painting, in sculpture, or in architecture.

While we might instructively study the reciprocity of art and science, or art and philosophy, or art and poetry, yet we shall not be able to find that close relationship, that intimate, enduring, eternal interaction that we find universally existing between art and religion. It is not remarkable that a people of artistic tastes and genius should possess the poetical spirit. There is poetry in all true art, as there is art in all true poetry. Both are largely the offspring of the religious feeling and of a love of the beautiful, and they both minister to the æsthetic, the imaginative, and the moral in man. It could hardly be that an unpoetical people should ever become distinguished for their art tastes or art productions, and it may easily be imagined that a race capable of producing a "Laocoön" could produce an

"Ædipus," and a race that could write an "Iliad" could build a Parthenon. It may be said that a nation's art will equal its poetry, and its poetry its art. This may be seen in a comparison of Greek art with Greek poetry, of Latin art with Latin poetry, and of Italian art with Italian poetry. Homer and Phidias belong to the same race, as do Dante and Michael Angelo, Petrarch and Raphael, Shakespeare and Turner, Goethe and Dürer, Molière and Millet.

It is singular, however, and worthy of notice, that while a people capable of great art are capable of great poetry, the great art and great poetry rarely come together. The chisel and the lyre are not heard at the same time. The Parthenon and the "Iliad" are not twin-born of genius; neither were the "Divine Comedy" and the "Last Judgment," nor "Lear" and "The Slave Ship." Homer, Æschylus, and Pindar were through singing before Apelles, Phidias, and Praxiteles produced their masterpieces. While Dante and Petrarch were still vocal there was as yet no high Italian art; and while England was glorious with Sidney, Spenser, Jonson, Shakespeare, and Milton her art genius was still slumbering. Dürer, Rembrandt, and Van Dyck painted without a highly poetical accompaniment. We admit, indeed, an exception in France, where Molière was contemporaneous with Claude Lorrain; but not in Spain, for Cervantes passes away ere "Murillo paints the crescent underneath Madonna's feet." But it will be found that religion and art never part company. Art declines with religion, and with it revives. They are companions in all their trials and triumphs, encouraging one another, ministering to one another, upbuilding and inspiring one another, and together giving light and hope and truth to men.

Nothing in the entire range of art history is more suggestive and interesting than the reciprocal relations of art and Christianity. It will not satisfy the thoughtful mind to simply recognize the influence of art upon pagan religion and the reciprocal influence of pagan religion upon art. The most spiritual of all religions, the inspired, the heavenly, the divine religion, has employed art as one of the most efficient mediums for the communication of divine truth to the hearts of men. The first developments of the Christian religion were allied with the first developments of Christian art. Why should not

God reveal himself through inspired art as well as through inspired oratory and literature? Art has given an element of influential power to all sacred symbolism. The beautiful has taught men of the true and divine. If God has constructed the universe on scientific and mathematical principles, has he not also fashioned and adorned it on artistic principles of symmetry, grace, and beauty? If nature tells us that the Infinite mind is rational it also tells us that it is æsthetic; if mathematical, then also artistic. If science so interprets nature that we conceive a more worthy idea of the divine intelligence, is it not the mission of art, in its interpretation of nature, to also increase our knowledge and our love of God?

The Infinite wisdom employed art in setting forth a revelation of his promises and his will to mankind through his chosen people. Nothing remains to us of the art of the Hebrews. They had but little. In the development of the monotheistic idea God saw fit to separate worship as far as possible from all art that had been associated with idolatry or that might tempt an uncultured people into the worship of images. But as the Hebrews advanced in civilization, after they had passed beyond the formative state and had come to be a nation, with a system of laws and government, with a literature, and with tastes for beauty, they were permitted to employ art as a religious teacher. All the art the Hebrews ever did employ, whether native or foreign, was devoted to the service of religion, and in it, as in Hebrew poetry and prophecy, the saving hope of the world was set forth. It was Messianic in its significance. The tabernacle in the wilderness, the ark of the covenant, the golden cherubim were all artistic symbols of spiritual things. All the art displayed in the ark of the covenant, that instrument of storied beauty and of untold value, was consecrated to the preservation of a providential history and to the prefiguration of the promised Messiah, our Lord Jesus Christ. In that memorial and prophecy in gold the world has been more deeply interested than in all the bronze or marble or ivory forms that have given immortal fame to Egypt or to Greece.

But we find the perfection of Hebrew art in the temple that stood on Zion, the house of cedar and gold, "beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth." Like every great triumph in architecture which has graced the globe, that temple was

the embodiment of a religious sentiment and the center of a religious system. In one respect, that is, as a production of art, it was to the Jews what the temple of El Karnak was to the old Egyptians, what the temple of Diana was to the Ephesians, what the Parthenon was to Athenians, and what the Pantheon was to the Romans—the nation's greatest architectural achievement, and that for which they will longest be remembered in the history of art. It must be kept in mind that all these structures were religious. It may be doubted whether any other sentiment in man has been strong enough or authoritative enough to make possible the existence of such beautiful and costly temples. The love of philosophy has never inspired such artistic conceptions nor prompted men to the liberality and self-sacrifice necessary to the construction of a Parthenon or a Solomon's temple. The love of letters, of science, or of worldly amusements never found expression in edifices so costly and noble; nay, even the love of law, of country, or of art itself never created, never built, such piles of marble, grace, and grandeur. These edifices are the visible expression of man's prayers and confessions, his faith, his hope, his awe of death and longing for immortality, his ideas of eternity and his need of God. They are the deepest and loftiest, the most pathetic and commanding, the gentlest and boldest, the most beautiful and sublime thoughts that have moved the hearts of men and controlled the history of races. They are in cedar and gold, in marble and ivory, with graceful and majestic columns, with sculptured frieze and swelling dome. They are beautiful symbols of national religion.

The temple of Solomon stood on Zion, gleaming with prophecy. All its glory and costliness, all the pomp and splendor of its services spake of Messiah as prophet had never spoken, as poet had never sung. The ages speed by. The fullness of time ushers in the fulfillment of the old prophecies. The Christ appears, the flowering culmination of prophetic Judaism. Paganism falls to ruin. Out of the *débris* rises a new order of things, a new heaven and a new earth. When, after a transitional age of long duration, art once more rises to fill the world with forms of beauty, new ideals take the place of the old. Egyptian art, Greek art, Roman art, Hebrew art, Assyrian art, give way to the new art—to Christian art. And now art, which

in the old Greek days had been a speculation, in the old Egyptian days a mystery, in the old Hebrew days a prophecy, becomes in these new days an evangel. It is consecrated to Christ. It begins to preach. It preaches from the frescoes of convent and chapel, from the glowing canvas and the breathing stone, from bronze gate and marble *campanile*, from lofty spire and swelling dome. It preaches the story of Bethlehem from the canvas of Correggio; it preaches of the Holy Child and of the transfiguration from the easel of Raphael; it preaches of the last supper from the brush of Leonardo; it preaches of the crucifixion from the pictures of Guido Reni and Albert Dürer; it preaches of the resurrection and the final judgment from the magnificent frescoes of Michael Angelo. Poetry, music, and art have all contributed beautiful expression to the teachings of divine truth. What David sings in the Psalms Solomon builds into the temple; what Dante expresses in a great poem Angelo expresses in a great fresco; what Raphael sets forth in a glorious painting Handel sets forth in a glorious oratorio; what Milton celebrates in a sublime epic Sir Christopher Wren immortalizes in a grand cathedral. And the supreme homage of what is beautiful in them all is paid to "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Son of man."

The classical age was dominated by mythological inspiration, the *Renaissance* by theological, or Christian and scriptural, inspiration. But in the development of the art feeling true artists came to see the demand existing for an interpretation not only of gods and goddesses, angels, saints, martyrs, and divinities, but also of common men and common life, of the physical realities of nature, as well as the spiritual idealities of the supernatural. They came to see that the events of history, the sports and pastimes, the sorrows and burdens of daily life, the beauty of woman, the toil of man, and the sweetness of childhood were all susceptible of artistic interpretation. So there came to the easel such masters as Rembrandt, Van Dyck, Velasquez, Holbein, and Reynolds, who gave us wonderful interpretations of the human face. Paulus Potter, Troyon, Van Marcke, Jacque, and Rosa Bonheur find something for art to interpret in sheep and pastures where they graze. Landscape assumes beauty and glory in the eyes of Claude, Turner, Constable, Dupré, Rousseau, Daubigny, and Corot. For a time the angels,

saints, and martyrs of theological art are forgotten, and we see divinity in the trees and lakes, in the skies and woods and fields. A spiritual voice is ever saying to us, "Behold the fowls of the air," "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow;" and we catch the devout spirit of Him who walked by the sea and through the cornfields, who sat by the well, and who went up into the mountain to pray.

The least artistic objects apparently in the world, the poor man without an ornament, humbly clad, and at his toil, the peasant woman without a jewel, the peasant child without a ribbon, the peasant cottage without a picture, all at once begin to call upon art for interpretation; and Millet paints the pathos of the working life, the poetry of toil, the saints of the field, the madonnas of the cottage, the angels of industry. Jozef Israels finds the same path and gives to a humble Dutch interior, where a woman bends at her sewing, with a little child exulting in a new rag doll or a fresh slice of bread, a fascination beyond the silks and satins of a Watteau or the waxen finish and sensuous beauty of a Bouguereau. Jules Bréton, too, belongs to this class, in whom the honest and industrious peasantry of this world find just and sympathetic friends. These artists show us the humanity, nay, the divinity of toil, the sacredness of life, and the struggle, pathos, endurance, and grandeur of it.

The artists of the last fifty years have been moving away from the classical and theological ideals, and have been more generally than ever before seeking their inspiration from natural, historical, and common life sources. But that does not mean that art is becoming irreligious, that it is losing sight of the divine. It is simply finding more divinity, more truth and beauty, more love and life in this world than ever, and in a greater variety of form and revelation. We must insist that the truth of art, the truth of nature, the truth of life, and the truth of religion are still in perfect harmony, and forever must be. It is not necessary to paint simply angels, madonnas, saints, martyrs, and crucifixions to be religious in spirit. He who, in song or picture or statue, shows the divine meanings of nature and the profound, sincere, godlike workings of human mind and heart; he who makes the lily tell its white mystery; he who sets the stars singing of the worlds above; he who hides mightier philosophies than Plato's in the trees of the forest,

and the harvests of the summer, and the waves of the ocean, and the dimples of a child's sweet face, and the wrinkles on industry's honest brow, and the light that comes through the hollyhocks into the poor widow's cottage window, has as much religion to teach as those old masters who peopled the ceilings of stately cathedrals with martyrs and angels, prophets and madonnas. Millet preaches as religiously as Correggio; and Raphael's "Transfiguration" has not more of the true religious sentiment and the Christ spirit than Millet's "Gleaners" or "Sower" or "Angelus." This master genius of Barbazon acknowledged that he drew his inspiration from the Bible. "I find in it all that I do," said he to his old teacher, the village priest. The spirit of the Bible, of the Christ, sent him to paint the pathos of honest poverty and the virtue of patient toil. We find modern art going where the Nazarene went for inspiration—first to the Scriptures, full of the love of God; then to the mountains, lakes, fields, to the homes of men, to the places where manhood struggles forth into heroism, where convictions become great duties, and where purposes become noble achievements. Never was there more truth in man's religion, never more religion in art.

We may look for a higher, nobler art than ever as men cultivate a purer, more spiritual religion, a religion that consists in love for truth, love for beauty, love for perfection, love for purity, love for humanity, love for God. No great art is possible to a mind that is closed to the sublime truths of religion. How narrow are the limitations of the mind that has no God, no immortality, no outlook beyond horizons and stars, no aspirations beyond a grave! How grand are the possibilities of genius strong-eyed and genuine enough to see far into the everlasting depth of the skies, and find glorious destinies beyond what seems to be in the infinite all that must be and that is! It was Daubigny, when dying, who said, "I am going to see if Corot has found any new motif for a landscape." His art must be immortal who looks so far beyond. There was religion in the thought that immortality still encourages the art genius; and love of art made the hope of immortality sublime.

F. M. Bristol.

**ART. III.—THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN
HER RELATION TO THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH.**

INCIDENT upon the emancipation of January 1, 1863, there were turned out upon this country four million human beings who were afterward accorded all the rights and privileges of citizenship, with not so much as the remotest qualification for their exercise. They were mostly homeless, destitute, forsaken, ignorant, immoral. In a republic, as in no other form of government, is such a condition of its citizens to be deplored. In a monarchy the power is vested in one person, and from him, as from a common center, it proceeds to all that are beyond. Whatever be his intellectual and moral attainments, they will materially determine the character of the government over which he rules. But in a republic the whole order is changed. Instead of power proceeding from the center to the circumference, it proceeds from the circumference to the center, the outward manifestations which we perceive being but the rebound of that power. Such a government is "of the people, for the people, and by the people." To elevate it it is necessary, not merely to elevate a favored individual or class, but to elevate the masses, from whom representatives are chosen and with whom rests the sole and absolute power of the ballot.

It, therefore, became an early and interesting question, upon the emancipation of such multitudes of slaves, what should be done with them. Some proposed that they be colonized in some State or Territory of our own land, where, in a community by themselves, they might enact and execute their own laws, educate and Christianize their own people, labor and save, rule and be ruled, to their hearts' content. But to this it was objected that the South could not spare them. Having depended upon their labor so long, it could not immediately, if ever, adapt itself to a new situation. An evidence of the force of this objection was seen a few years ago in the panic caused in Mississippi by the attempted exodus of the negroes to Kansas, the whites being compelled to stand in arms upon the banks of their streams to drive them back. It was objected further that the negroes could not do without the South. Having been so long under the care and guidance of their masters, they

had become improvident and dependent. Besides, the climate of the South was better suited to them than that of any other region suggested. Indeed, to have colonized them anywhere would have been prejudicial to their interests and to ours.

Others proposed that they should be summarily shipped to Africa, the land from which they came. But this, besides being unprincipled and presumptuous, would have been exceedingly expensive. It would have been unprincipled in that it would have been in express violation of the golden rule. It would have been an attempt to impose upon another continent what we believed to be a menace to ours. It would have been presumptuous in that we did not own a foot of Africa, and yet presumed to land four million people there, who have since increased to eight million. But even had it been right and proper we should have found the cost of transportation to be immense. If we should send out each day for a year a ship bearing a burden of five hundred souls we should still fall short of the present natural increase of the negroes. We should find that the expenses accruing from the loss of the labor of even these 182,500, the number so transported, the feeding of them before and during their passage, as well as the caring for them immediately upon their arrival in Africa, the payment of agents to supervise the work at home and abroad, the chartering and managing of so many vessels, together with other incidentals, to say nothing of frauds, would require an immense outlay of money. So that, in whatever light we view the question of the forcible removal of the colored man, we find such removal to be impracticable.

The only thing that can be done with the negro that is at once both feasible and humane is to educate and Christianize him at home. Such a view was early entertained by those who, independent of all prejudice, properly conceived of the necessities of the case and were willing to adapt themselves to their new, though unpleasant, surroundings. But in the way of this there has stood :

1. The illiteracy of the South. Though she represents but one third of our entire population she contains two thirds of all our illiteracy. Of the two million voters in the entire country that can neither read nor write one million and a third are in the South. An exclusively physical labor and the want

of intellectual advantages have conduced to illiteracy among the blacks, while physical inactivity and a consequent mental sluggishness have conduced to the same result among the Southern whites.

2. The prejudice that grew out of that illiteracy. The Southerners believed the African to be an inferior order of being, by nature doomed to servitude, and that, if educated, he would refuse to labor and be generally intractable. Hence, they opposed his education and illtreated those who sought to advance it. While they rejoiced over the work of Moffat, Livingstone, and others in Africa, some refused beef in their shambles, bread in their bakeries, groceries, fuel, and clothing in their stores to the humble missionary to the negro of the South, who did the work of their fields and kitchens or was their bosom companion in the nursery and playground.

3. The poverty of the South. By the emancipation of their slaves the Southern people lost at least \$2,000,000,000. In the support of their army they lost \$2,000,000,000 more. They also lost immense amounts by the destruction of their property. In addition to this, upon their readmission into the Union they were equally taxed with us for the liquidation of our national war debt. So that, however educated, unprejudiced, and willing they might have been, they were financially unable to assume the work themselves of uplifting the negro, or even to assist in it to any appreciable extent.

Whence, then, has come the support of this movement? It has come almost exclusively from the North. The Christian Churches of the North, through their Freedmen's Aid Commission, dispensed charities, opened schools, employed teachers, manned pulpits, and did other work of lasting honor to the cause they jointly represented. Though we, as Methodists, have to-day a purely sectarian organization, it must be remembered that our society was not formed because we had ceased to be fraternal, for as late as 1864, when other Churches were withdrawing, our General Conference, unwilling to follow their example, officially approved the undenominational movement. But, believing that the time had come when the different branches of the Christian Church, following their own methods and working in their own interests, could do more apart than together, the wisdom of which belief we have since seen, the Churches

continued to withdraw from the Commission until we were compelled to follow. And thus, of necessity, and not by choice, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in the city of Cincinnati, August 6, 1866.

Of the work of this society during the twenty-seven years of its existence we have every cause to be justly proud. No other Church has met with such persistent opposition in the South. The ill feeling begotten by the memorable action of the General Conference of 1844, whereby Bishop Andrew, a slaveholder by marriage, was suspended from the further exercise of episcopal functions in our Church, which action resulted in the immediate withdrawal of the whole Southern slaveholding membership from us, grew with its growth and strengthened with its strength, so that in 1866, when we attempted to reenter its territory, the opposition we encountered was determined and universal. But opposition is no real obstacle to progress. When the Christian Church was persecuted most she flourished best. "Off with their heads," cried Cæsar; "we will soon put an end to Christianity." Governors and proconsuls hastened to obey his orders; and, as if afraid that simple decapitation would not suffice, the most cruel and revolting tortures were invented. Saints were dragged at the feet of wild horses, were sawn asunder, were flayed alive, were burned at the stake, and were even encased in skins and daubed with pitch and set afire to light up cruel Nero's gardens. They were left to rot in dungeons, and were made a public spectacle to all men in the amphitheater. Bears crushed them to death, lions tore them to pieces, and angry bulls tossed them aloft upon their horns. And yet Christianity continued to spread. Men even pressed to the judgment seat and asked the privilege and honor of being permitted to die for Christ. Religious experience was never stronger. As frankincense must be crushed before it will emit perfume, so the Church must be attacked before it will develop strength or manifest its graces.

As in the early, so in the latter days of Christianity opposition has shown itself to be favorable to progress. Had it not been for the opposition we encountered we might have been to-day, so many are the demands upon us, a Church of minor importance in the South. But we early found that to succeed there at all we must increase our facilities and concentrate our ener-

gies. The Church Extension Society, therefore, began to erect buildings, the Missionary Society to supply pulpits, the Book Concern, the Sunday School Union, the Bible and the Tract Societies to furnish literature and aid, until we stand unrivaled for our work among the freedmen in a territory from which for more than twenty years we were practically excluded, having largely outlived persecution and commanded respect.

The contributions of these various societies, including, of course, the Freedmen's Aid, aggregates \$6,551,393.47. As a result much successful work has been accomplished. When freedom came in 1864 we had 18,139 negro members, principally in Maryland, Delaware, and the adjacent territory. We have now 247,439. Our white membership has grown on what was slave territory from 87,804 in 1866 to 265,188 in 1892. Altogether, about one fifth of our entire membership, which is at present 2,524,053, is in the South. In addition, we have 23 schools of high and secondary grades among the colored people. In these there are 217 regular and 140 practice teachers, 5,396 students, and a property investment of \$1,183,000. At least 125 teachers on an average, who are scarcely less distinguished as missionaries than as instructors, have been sustained in the field during these twenty-seven years. One hundred thousand pupils, according to the best estimates, have been taught in our schools of various grades since we entered upon this work for the freedmen. It is estimated that one million children in the South have been taught by our teachers or by pupils, educated at our schools, who have engaged in teaching, so far-reaching and reproductive are the results of our work for the elevation of this race and the salvation of the world. The General Conference of 1880 committed to the Freedmen's Aid Society the supervision of its educational work in the South, instructing it to aid the schools for whites as much as it could without embarrassment to its other work; and in 1888 its name was changed from the Freedmen's Aid to the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society. Twenty-one white schools are owned or aided by the society. These schools have 136 regular and 25 practice teachers, 3,716 pupils, and property amounting to \$625,800.

In the aggregate, therefore, among both colored and white, we have 44 schools, 353 regular and 165 practice teachers, or 518 teachers in all, 9,112 students, and property amounting to

\$1,808,800. Of the students 167 are in college classes, 8,072 in college preparatory, normal, English, and special courses, 265 are preparing for the ministry, 254 are studying medicine, 7 dentistry, 21 pharmacy, 2,338 music, 43 art, 323 are preparing for commercial and 2,082 for industrial life. There were 482 conversions last year. The amount expended from the beginning by this society alone has reached the magnificent sum of \$3,303,548.30. Says Dr. Hartzell :

Eternity alone will reveal the far-reaching and gracious results already achieved. From these schools Christian ministers, teachers, physicians, and intelligent citizens have gone forth to be leaders in the development of Christian manhood and womanhood throughout the South, in its homes, in commerce, in politics, and in the Church. When the Hebrew children were being divinely led from Egyptian bondage Jethro said to Moses, "Thou shalt teach them ordinances and laws, and shalt show them the way wherein they must walk and the work that they must do." These were the words of a philanthropist and philosopher. They suggest instruction in religious duties, in moral conduct, and in industrial training. So in the elevation of any people from the bondage of ignorance, poverty, and superstition, no matter what their race, a true education will include moral law, right conduct, and preparation for the practical duties of life. The schools under the direction of this society are Christian schools. Every chapel is a temple of worship to the living God. The Bible is a text-book in schools of every grade. Religious instruction is given in every class room, and in our schools of industry we seek to dignify labor and give such practical instruction as will prepare young men and women for industrious and successful lives.

Such, then, is the noble work which this society, assisted by others, has, through the providence of God, been enabled to accomplish. As an institution of our own forming it has special claims upon us for support which we should meet for consistency's sake, if for nothing else. The first Church that officially recognized the Constitution of the United States and pledged it her support was the Methodist Episcopal Church. The first Church that sounded the keynote of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal, and that among their "inalienable rights" are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," was the Methodist Episcopal Church. In uncompromising devotion to her heaven-born convictions she suffered herself to be rent in twain, believing that that "light affliction" which was "but for a moment" would work out for her "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of

excess in 1985 he finds to be 96,000,000, a significant fact when we remember that 159 of the 223 electoral votes now necessary to elect a president are cast in that section—he might have continued his calculations on the general population as follows :

Whites in the United States in 2020.....	672,000,000
Blacks “ “ “ “ “ 2000.....	384,000,000
“ “ “ “ “ 2020.....	768,000,000

This means that in the entire United States the excess of the blacks over the whites, but thirty-five years later than the time when his estimates cease, would be also 96,000,000. These figures are essentially corroborated by M. Simonin's calculation in the *Bulletin* of the Geographical Society of Paris, to which reference was made by Dr. Abel Stevens in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* for July, 1883, and January, 1884. M. Simonin says that the census of 1880 showed that the blacks increase at a rate greater than the general population. They were then “in round numbers 6,500,000, and equal to all our foreign-born population.” The *Bulletin* is surprised at that. “The Africans,” it says, “were, in 1870, only 4,880,000, but in 1880 they were 6,577,151. . . . This is a phenomenon curious and truly new ; it is the first time, we believe, that a fact of the kind has been witnessed in statistical geography.” Professor Freeman, the English historian, believed this fact to be “one of the gravest perils of our future.” What, we would ask, is to become of us in 2020, if these alarming statistics prove to be true—if in one hundred and twenty-six years from now the negroes outnumber us by any such, or even less, increase ?

This question becomes all the more alarming when we view it in the light of the frequent and terrible outrages which occur in the South. Dr. E. E. Hoss and Bishop Haygood affirm that three hundred Southern white women were in three months brutally assaulted by colored men. The Southern people are taking the law in their own hand, much to the exasperation of even the more intelligent and better-thinking blacks. These, while they denounce the conduct of their race, claim that they are as much entitled to a fair and impartial trial, before a jury of their countrymen, as are the criminal classes among the whites. The situation is alarming, too, in view of the arrogant and insolent treatment of whites where ignorant blacks predominate, as at Pine Bluff, Ark., where the blacks outnumber the whites

three to one, one wealthy negro alone by his influence preventing a conflict. Similar trouble exists at Tallahassee and Fernandina, Fla., where the colored population far outnumber the whites, the large hotel at the latter place, built by Northern men, being forsaken by white guests because of it. In the coast region of North Carolina, where there are ten times as many colored people as whites, the former are in constant mutiny against their landlords, the State militia frequently being called on to enforce the law. Ought we not, if from no other motive than simple self-defense, to do everything we can to educate and Christianize these people?

When we shall have attained our growth the excess of our population will seek refuge somewhere, as others have sought refuge here. Statesmen are pointing to Africa as that place of future emigration. The nations of Europe are already interesting themselves in its exploration and development. They have found it to be rich in its resources, comparatively healthy in the interior, and wonderfully susceptible to improvement. In the words of another:

Is not America to share at least this new interest for Africa? We who have millions of people the best adapted to its climate—to be its sailors, pioneers, merchants, and missionaries—are we to be idle spectators of the general movement? Are our growing millions of its children, rising daily in intellectual and moral improvement, to take no part in its redemption? With the immense prospective growth of our colored population will doubtless come considerable development of its business talent and wealth, in spite of its social disadvantages. Can its fatherland fail then to attract its enterprise in commerce, in religion, and civilization generally? It is not improbable, therefore, that the coming colored American hosts may look thitherward with an interest such as few of us dream of. And if European emigration is hereafter to tend toward it is it chimerical to suppose that the Americano-African race, with its scores of millions, will neglect the inviting field—its ancestral home?

If this should come to pass—and future improved facilities for travel will materially aid in bringing it about—and if the negroes should be educated and Christianized up to the full measure of their capacity, what a missionary force we should have in that "Dark Continent" so much in need of light! As Dr. Blyden, the president of Liberia College, affirms, "The Gospel, to be successfully carried into Africa, must be carried by Africans. To a man of Ethiopia must be intrusted the message to

Ethiopians." The Mohammedans have acted on this principle from the beginning. They have had a university for nine hundred years at Cairo, in Egypt, where ten thousand students have been daily taught the Moslem faith; where "two acres of turbans," as one expresses it, greet the eye, and a hum of voices, reciting the Koran, greets the ear. When their education is completed they start as missionaries and, joining caravans, cross the desert and are soon lost in the interior of Africa, where they become effective propagators of their faith. The Roman Catholic Church is agitating the same thing. The *Dublin Review* has recently said:

We are convinced that the only hopeful, promising, and effective way of procedure in respect to Africa is that which may be summed up in these words, "The conversion of Africa by Africans." Christian black settlements ought to be attempted all over Africa, even, if need be, as among the Mohammedans, after the difficult and costly manner followed by Monsignore Comboni. The task is full of hardship, but no other system will avail. Whether it will be practically possible to organize bands of the Catholic Africano-Americans for the settlement and conversion of Africa, as their Protestant brethren, who sail to Liberia in numbers varying annually from two hundred to five hundred, are organized for that very purpose, remains to be proved.

The Roman Catholic Church has its native black priests in Africa already, and a community of over thirty sisters on the western coast. It will be noticed that the author of the above quotation accords to us success in that, as Protestants, we are annually sending to Liberia organized bands of Christian negroes. If this, which we are conducting on so small a scale, be a success, what will it be if we continue to educate and Christianize the blacks until we send them forth, not "in numbers varying annually from two hundred to five hundred," but in millions and tens of millions?

The susceptibility of the negro to mental improvement, and even to high attainments in scholarship, is fully established:

Thirty years ago it was unlawful in a large part of the United States to teach a colored person to read. Four millions of them can read the Bible to-day. One million negro children and youths are in schools of all grades, universities not excepted. Thirty years ago very few negroes owned their own bodies. They have accumulated \$300,000,000 of real and personal property. They own five million acres of land. They edit and manage two hundred newspapers in this country. Harvard and

Cornell Universities, by choice of the students, have elected colored men as representative orators. Most of our missionary boards have colored representatives upon the foreign fields. Ten United States ministers have been colored men. Chairs in universities are ably filled by colored men. Only a few positions of honor which have not already been worthily occupied by colored men! There is no parallel in all history. ✓

Their religious propensities as a race are also proverbially exceptional. It was Africa that afforded Jesus shelter when he was driven from his native land, and African hands that ministered to Joseph and to Mary. It was Simon the Cyrenian, a Hellenistic Jewish colonist of Africa, who took up the fainting Saviour's cross where he was about to drop it, and bore it to Golgotha's summit. It was the eunuch of great authority under Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, who in his chariot in the desert characteristically opened his heart, as does his race ever, to the teachings of God's messenger, and believed and was baptized then and there. Shall the woman who anointed Christ's body unto its burial be mentioned wherever the Gospel is preached, and shall these kind deeds of Africa's children be forgotten? In gratitude let them be not only remembered but reciprocated in the uplifting of her sons. And let this be done for the sake of Christ, that the glorious prophecies respecting him may speedily be fulfilled. Said a Chinese convert, in contrasting Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity:

Buddhism is like the man who, coming to a pit into which another had fallen, looks down and says, "Poor fellow, I am sorry for you. How did you fall down there? My advice is, if you ever do get out, never fall down again." Confucianism is like the man who not only pities but wants to help, and offers to do so, provided he will come far enough up, so he can reach him. But Christianity is like the man who not only pities and wants to help, but is able and willing to do it, and, with his long, strong arm, reaches down to the bottom of the pit, seizes the sufferer, lifts him out, dresses his wounds, cares for his wants, and sends him on his way rejoicing.

Just such a manifestation of Christian charity is what is needed now among the colored people of the South, for they are, though black, our neighbors and our brothers.

W. W. W. Wilson.

ART. IV.—PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF ADMIRAL FARRAGUT.

IN the late summer of 1856 the writer, then a probationer of one year's standing in the California Conference, was sent to Vallejo. Whatever importance belonged to the village at that time grew out of the fact that there the men lived who were employed as laborers in the United States Navy Yard situated on Mare Island, separated from Vallejo by a narrow arm of the bay known as Napa Creek. There were two small churches in Vallejo, of such denominations as may be expected where only two are found—Roman Catholic and Methodist. The latter was a cheap structure, capable of seating about one hundred and fifty people, innocent of paint either on the outside or inside, and with no fence to protect it from becoming a shelter from the sunshine for the numberless cattle that roamed over the neighboring hills. But humble as that church was it enjoyed a distinction not shared by any other church in America. The president of its board of five trustees was David Glascoe Farragut, the greatest naval commander of his age—possibly of any age. The navy yard already alluded to had been constructed under his supervision, and he was then its commanding officer. He was a very regular attendant upon the services of the church; indeed, always present except when kept away by sickness, absence from home, or very bad weather. It was the custom of the commodore, as he was then called, to ask the pastor home to dinner almost every Sabbath; and as the pastor was unmarried he almost invariably accepted the invitation. The long, pleasant conversations held with Farragut on these and other occasions led to a thorough acquaintance with his character, probably more thorough than could have been obtained by a man more nearly on the same plane with himself, officially or socially. Many things learned in this way it would have been improper to give to the public while Farragut lived; but as they are, on the whole, creditable to him, there can be no reason for longer withholding them.

Mrs. Farragut must come in for a share of consideration in any estimate we may make of the character of the great

admiral. Some men are great in spite of their wives; some men are great because their wives made them so; some never are great who might have been so but for their wives. Farragut had a greatness all his own; but he was a better man than he ever would have been otherwise because he had wedded one of the best of women. He was twice married. His first wife was an invalid. Once he secured release from the duties of his office that he might give his whole time to caring for her. After her death he remained single for several years, then married her sister, Miss Virginia Loyall, of Norfolk. She was beautiful, educated, accomplished; but, above all, she was devotedly and consistently pious. Her grandmother had been a Methodist, and she herself, though an Episcopalian, was thoroughly Methodistic in doctrine and spirit. She communed with the Methodists on every occasion, and for a long time was superintendent of their Sunday school, only resigning the position when she thought a man had been found who could do the work better. Never was a man blessed with a happier home than Admiral Farragut. Only one child blessed their union, Loyall Farragut, who yet survives.

In forming a proper estimate of the characteristics which gave Farragut his great success in life several things must be noted. This remark is no doubt true of all great men; for who ever achieved greatness on one stray virtue or excellence? Washington was eminently an "all round" man. So was Lincoln; and so was Farragut. He was by nature a manly man, a noble man. In the popular sense he was not educated. He was born in Tennessee, near the beginning of the century—a place and time very unfavorable to educational facilities—and while a mere lad, not yet in his teens, became a cabin boy for Captain David Porter. But for the determined purpose he ever cherished to make something of himself he might never have risen much higher than this humble position. As it is, he stands before the nation as an example of those self-made men who are really well-made, and who are consequently an inspiration to ambitious youths who start life with few advantages for thorough preparation. True greatness showed itself in the entire frankness with which he spoke of his early lack of educational privileges. He never forgot "the hole whence he was digged." He said that he once unintentionally offended a

British nobleman, whose father had won a title from his sovereign by his skill in running a cotton factory, by congratulating him on having achieved a distinguished title through merit rather than through the accident of a long line of ancestry. What a true American would be proud to confess an Englishman is often careful to conceal. Farragut was an American, and no man more richly deserved the name. He used his native tongue with great accuracy. He could also make himself understood in French, but was glad to use his wife's superior skill in communicating with those to whom the French language was a necessity. His knowledge of classical lore may be readily inferred from the fact that he was twice heard to say, when speaking of the political corruption that so fearfully abounded before the war, that he often thought of the passage of Scripture, "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

In science he was better posted; but even there he showed the defects which must ever cling to one who gathers his knowledge while intently engaged in the active pursuits of life. Strange to say, he utterly refused to believe that the moon governed the tides. It would seem that his very occupation would have corrected so great a mistake. He was an original subscriber to the *Types of Mankind*, and whetted the writer's taste for ethnology by loaning him his copy. He was thoroughly committed to the doctrine of the diversity of origin of the several races of mankind. Some one has described a truly educated man as one "who knows something of everything, and everything of something." Certainly Farragut knew everything of his profession.

It has been said that he would hardly have known how to handle one of our present ironclads; but had he lived until now he would have made himself thoroughly conversant with every new invention, for he had learned to adapt himself to all changes that occurred in naval construction during his life. He often said that the skill of a naval officer was never so taxed as when handling the old ships that depended entirely upon the wind and their sails for the power to move upon the waters. Farragut attended to every branch of his profession. He was acquainted with every vessel in the navy, and knew its tonnage, its length, its beam, its depth in the water, its height above it, its rate of speed, and all its

peculiarities. He knew every navy officer, and was wonderfully skillful in reading character. This ability to look after details, large and small, showed itself in his management of the navy yard, and indeed in his acquaintance with everybody and everything in the town of Vallejo while he was commandant there. At that time there was a little schooner which the government had bought for the use of the navy yard, and which Farragut had named, in honor of a favorite author, the *Fenimore Cooper*. The writer took many trips on this schooner with the commodore. She would outstrip the steamer in a fair race to the city. If everything was not in exact order, the quick eye of Farragut would see it, and a few words, quietly but quickly spoken to the master, would put our little craft in condition to make speed to the utmost of her possibilities.

Farragut was essentially religious. He did not belong to any Church, but had a profound regard for all Churches, and generously contributed to their support. He always attended Christian worship, wherever he might be in the world, unless it was conducted in a language he could not understand. For this reason he did not attend the Roman Catholic church unless upon some rare occasion. He asked a blessing at his own table when others than his own family were not present. He certainly never lost an opportunity to speak well of the Christian faith. It is true that he sometimes under excitement used expressions that were inconsistent with a Christian profession; but he could not be said to be, in the ordinary sense, a profane man. On this point a little incident will be appropriate. One day his son Loyall, then a lad of nine or ten years, while with his father in some part of the navy yard, uttered certain words having some semblance to profanity, though the name of God was not mentioned. Farragut turned and rebuked his son severely. But Loyall replied, "Why, papa, I heard you say the same thing yesterday!" This brought explanations from the father that he had gone to sea when a small boy, had always afterward been associated with rough men, never had had the help of a pious mother, and never could go to Sunday school and church as his son could; and he finally closed with the charge that the boy should go right to the house, and in his own room pray God to forgive him for saying such a naughty thing. "And," said he, "when you have done that, ask God to forgive your father for say-

ing such bad words sometimes!" Had Loyall simply done as directed, this touching little event would never have been given to the world. But he went first and told his mother all that had occurred, and it was from her lips that the writer received it. She told her son to go and do as his father had charged him; and she herself soon followed him, curious to know just what he would do. The door was ajar, and the boy was praying aloud. He had finished his prayer for himself, and was interceding for his father: "O Lord, you must forgive my papa for saying bad words sometimes. You know he went to sea when he was a little boy, never had a pious mother to teach him, couldn't go to church and Sunday school as I do, and—and, Lord, you must forgive my papa, for you know he don't mean anything." She dared not stay to hear more. Let him sneer who thinks this an evidence of littleness in the great admiral; but to the true judge of human nature it will appear as another evidence of that simplicity of soul that always belongs to an extraordinary character.

The intellectual faith of Farragut was not up to the orthodox standard. He several times expressed his doubts as to the divine origin of the Old Testament. But far more frequently he expressed his confidence in the evangelical history and his warmest admiration for Jesus Christ. The sufferings of Christ often affected him to tears, and many times he bowed his head upon the seat in front of him to hide his emotion. It may be proper here to add that he sometimes exhibited that proof of great courage—the tenderness of a woman. Though he never went to the sacramental altar he sat an intensely interested beholder, with a look of sadness that indicated deep sympathy with what was being done.

On the subject of slavery he held somewhat modified Southern views. On one occasion the writer read in the public congregation the General Rules of the Church. In commenting on the rule on slavery, which then simply forbade the buying or selling of slaves, it was pointed out how this, at least, would prevent the separation of families by refusing to admit that the souls of men were to be considered as ordinary merchandise. On reaching home Farragut called up the subject of those rules and expressed himself well pleased with them. On the subject of slavery he was emphatic in his condemnation of the

division of families. He believed that the law ought to forbid the separation of husbands and wives or the taking of children from their parents before they had reached a mature age. His idea, expressed briefly, was that the slaves should be held in a kind of serfdom inseparable from the lands where they had their homes. He lived, no doubt, to see the whole subject in a very different light.

Farragut was not a total abstainer; at least he was not in the days which we are now considering. He never entered a saloon to drink. In the popular sense he never treated or received a treat. He had only words of severe condemnation for the drinking habits of the time. When he had company at his table he drank wine with them. When he had no company, or company that did not drink, he put about a table-spoonful of whisky into a common goblet, filled it with cold water, and drank it instead of tea or coffee at the dinner hour, and only then. The first time the writer dined with him he was asked if he would take a glass of wine, and when he refused the offer was never repeated. Whenever other company was present that drank wine he always said, after they were served, "Mr. Anthony, I do not offer wine to you because I know you never drink"—a manifestation of real politeness rarely seen among drinking men. On one occasion the theme of the morning discourse in the little church was taken from the words of Paul, "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak." The text was presented in its natural bearing upon the drinking habits of the time. It was claimed that every man's duty required him to abstain from that which would injure a weak brother. It was expressly urged that these rules were more binding upon those who occupied high places, and thus set an example which others would follow, than upon anybody else. Farragut had a large number of friends with him in church that morning, and for the first and only time in a whole year did not ask the writer home with him to dinner. The inference was natural that he was displeased, and a suspense of many days followed. The next Sabbath was very stormy, and no one came over from the navy yard. As soon as the weather permitted the writer went to his office. Farragut was standing at his

desk alone. He instantly stepped forward and greeted him substantially in the words following: "Glad to see you. It seems a long time since I saw you last. We did not get over to church on Sunday. It was too stormy for the ladies, and we men had not the courage to go alone. By the way, did you see that man who sat with his wife in our pew the last Sunday we were out? Well, that was the captain of Queen Victoria's bodyguard. He is traveling for his health, and spent two weeks with us. He was disappointed in not hearing you again. And that reminds me I have a feather for your cap. As we were leaving the church he said to me, 'Farragut, that is the kind of preaching the world needs.' I will not tell you what I said, but it would not make you sorry if I did. That's right, Mr. Anthony. When you stand in the pulpit do your duty, whoever is pleased or offended. Of course you will go up to the house and take dinner with us, and we will have a good time." And we did. While it would be better for any man to do what he is willing to admit is right, yet next to that it is certainly a token of a noble nature when he is not offended at faithful words that condemn his conduct.

When Farragut left Mare Island, late in the summer of 1858, crowds gathered to see him off. Work for the time was suspended, and all sought to give honor to the man who never felt himself too great to speak to them, and whose kind heart ever felt a warm personal interest in their welfare. As he stepped upon the deck of the steamer that was to bear him to San Francisco cheer after cheer arose from the men who so really loved him. He attempted to speak, but public speaking was never one of his gifts. Emotion checked his utterance, and he hurriedly withdrew from sight. Twelve years passed. What eventful years! The commodore had become the great admiral. He was again in Vallejo. The little church had been altered and enlarged. Other churches had been built, among them one belonging to the Episcopalians, the denomination of which Mrs. Farragut was a member. But they came to the Methodist church, and the writer was privileged again to address them. He had traveled more than a hundred miles for that purpose. The next morning at the Springs, three miles away, we breakfasted together. Mrs. Farragut was indisposed, and our breakfast was taken alone. For well-nigh two hours

we sat in the large dining room talking. The memory of that hour is among the most interesting of a lifetime.

At the remark made by the writer that he had seen with immense satisfaction the position that Farragut had taken in favor of the Union and the valuable service he had rendered his country, the admiral seemed almost annoyed. Why should anybody think that he would have done any differently? What right had anybody to question his loyalty? Still, he admitted that he had been the subject of suspicion on both sides. He lived in Norfolk, surrounded by the friends of many years. Yet they did not confide in him and said little to him until a committee of citizens waited upon him and demanded an answer to the plain question, where he stood in relation to the subject that so greatly agitated the whole nation. His answer was brief but decisive: "I stand an officer of the United States Navy, sworn to the defense of my country. I am awaiting orders. When I get them I shall most certainly obey them." Their reply was in curt and cutting words, giving him only until four o'clock that afternoon to take himself out of Norfolk; nor would they be answerable for consequences if he tarried beyond that hour. Fortunately, communication between Norfolk and New York was not yet cut off. A steamer sailed for the latter port that afternoon, and on that steamer he must go. Not a word had yet passed between himself and wife in regard to his future course. Her people were all secessionists. What if she should side with them? But her position was soon ascertained. She proved true to her country and worthy of the hero she had wedded. Going from the interview with the citizens to his own house and opening his front door, he saw his wife at the head of the stairs and called out: "Virginia, pack your trunk; we leave for New York at four o'clock." There were no words, no explanations, some tears, perhaps; but the trunks were packed and they set off for the North, with whose destinies theirs should be so nobly linked forever.

Even in New York they were regarded with suspicion. Farragut scorned to use any public means to remove this feeling. He said, "Why should a man that has never said anything or done anything that was not in the highest sense in keeping with loyalty to his country be required by special pleadings to assert himself worthy of confidence?" That he finally

secured recognition in the navy he attributed to Commodore David D. Porter. With Porter's father Farragut had made his first voyage. They had always been like brothers, and so remained until a question of discipline separated them. Said the admiral: "I have to thank a man for that New Orleans command who will not now speak to me, unless in official duty. He once failed to obey orders, and I reported him. I should have done it if he had been my own father. But at that time he was my friend, and did me a service for which I shall always feel grateful to him. It was he that induced the administration to give me a chance with the other two of equal rank that at the time were highest in the navy." It was determined to consult these officers as to the practicability of taking New Orleans. A letter was sent to each, stating the great advantage which would accrue to the Union cause if New Orleans could be secured as a base of supplies and of operations in the South, and the question was asked whether it was thought that the thing could be done if the proper measures were employed. As soon as Farragut read the letter he took his pen and dashed off this reply: "I am astonished at your question. I had always supposed that any place accessible to a fleet could be taken by a navy engagement if the proper means were employed." The answer contained no more than this, except date and signature. In due time another letter came, this time asking him whether he would undertake the reduction of New Orleans if such means as he might require were placed at his disposal. Again he dashed off his laconic answer: "I am astonished at your question. I await orders." And again there was nothing added but date and signature. The next letter he received from Washington was as brief as he could have penned it: "Come to Washington."

For the first time in his life he stood before Abraham Lincoln. The cabinet was in session. After introductions, the president informed Farragut that they had already decided upon giving him the charge of what they considered the greatest enterprise yet undertaken during the war. They were ready to grant him anything he asked that lay within their power, if he would only make it a success. He was ready at once to tell them what men and ships he wanted. They told him he could have them and twenty gunboats besides. Farragut declared

that even then he was certain he should have to run past Forts Jackson and St. Philip. The gunboats in that case would be in the way. So he said, "I do not want the gunboats." But they asked with evident surprise, "How will you reduce the forts?" He saw that if he told them all that was in his mind he would stand a fine chance of not getting the command; and so he hastily answered, "All right, send the gunboats." He said he thought it better to sink twenty gunboats in the Mississippi than to fail to take New Orleans. The facts of that great victory, one of the most important ones on the Union side, are sufficiently familiar without their being recorded here. One little episode at the mouth of the river, just before the attack, brings out the decision of this great commander in a way that warrants its repetition. A British officer who had watched their preparations with closest scrutiny came aboard the morning they were getting under way. In greeting Farragut he said, "I like you, I believe in you; but I fear for you. I think you are planning to run those forts. Allow me frankly to say, I do not believe it can be done." The answer was quickly made: "Many thanks for your interest, which I accept as a token of personal good feeling and reciprocate; but I am very busy and have not time to be civil. I can only say, sir, that these vessels go to New Orleans or to the bottom of the Mississippi."

We take space for one more historical reference. He laughed at the idea that he was fastened in the maintop when they entered Mobile Bay. He said it was no doubt well meant, but why should he want himself tied anywhere? Was he afraid he would run away? When asked how the story came to be told, he said all he knew about it was that he was trying to keep above the smoke, which was settling like a dense fog over the whole face of the water. In order to give directions intelligently, he went up the shrouds, rising as the smoke rose, until he said he was well up to the maintop; but he was not in the maintop, much less tied there. It is probable that he forgot at that moment what it is credibly reported he afterward admitted. A sailor was sent up by the officer on deck to place a rope over him, making it fast on each side in order to prevent his falling so great a distance in case of being wounded. When Farragut found what the sailor was doing he objected; but, finding it was in obedience to orders, he suffered it.

At the remark that war was a terrible business, a shade of sadness passed over his countenance that betokened memories of carnage most painful for his kind heart to contemplate. This was substantially his answer: "Yes, indeed, a terrible thing is war; but sometimes we must go to war or more terrible things will follow. You remember what you told us yesterday, that every man was fitted by nature and by circumstances to fill some important place in the world where he could glorify God and serve his generation. Now I believe that, and I believe I have adaptations for my position in the navy, and that in filling it the best I knew how I have served God as well as my country. And now I will tell you what I am sure you will be glad to know. I never went into an engagement in my life that I did not first go on my knees in prayer before God, asking his protection and help, believing I was doing in that particular what was right in his sight." After a brief pause he added, "I have gone through greater dangers than any living man, and I have never received a scratch." Then, as if suddenly remembering something, he added: "Well, yes, once in an action I felt something running down my cheek, and putting up my hand I found it was blood. Tracing it to its origin, I found my cap was gone, and whatever had taken it off had also taken off a small piece of my bald scalp!" No doubt we may safely conclude that when he came to meet the last enemy, death, he triumphed through the presence and power of that Saviour in whom he sincerely believed.

C. V. Anthony

ART. V.—OUR MEN AND WOMEN: ACTIONS AND REACTIONS PRIOR TO MAY, 1892—AN IRENICON.

IN the following pages we purpose to prepare the way for a new constitutional ordinance, by the adoption of which the Church may easily settle the relations of men and women to our ecclesiastical government, in a manner entirely consistent with the principles and views of all moderate and candid minds in both the parties now so long and so unhappily arrayed against each other. We do not write to augment or to diminish the privileges or rights of either sex, but to secure on the part of both a better understanding of scriptural and legal principles. We do not intend to attack any past measure or to champion any. Our aim is simply to help the reader to understand what has been done, in order that he may understand what ought to be done. Of course no one historian or critic can suit all tastes or judgments in all particulars; but, so far as we shall deal with historic or actual facts, we shall endeavor with all diligence to satisfy the just demands of the one party as fully as those of the other. As we have often said and written, we firmly believe that each party has been contending for principles essentially true, and that thus far it would have been a misfortune had either triumphed. Especially do we wish it understood from the outset that we have no desire whatever to see women introduced into the General Conference by the action of 1892, or by any outright judicial ruling of the General Conference of 1896. Neither of these methods would bring out into due prominence the true scriptural solution of the question, as given by us elsewhere, or clarify and tranquilize the mind of the Church, long confused and excited by unintelligent and unedifying controversy.

As an exceedingly brief historical introduction we presume the following facts will be admitted by all parties as true and pertinent: (1) That from the beginnings of American Methodism all duly appointed class leaders have impliedly been entitled to membership in their appropriate Quarterly Conferences, with full right to vote on all business transacted by the Quarterly Conference; (2) That, nevertheless, during the first half century or more of the history of the Church female class

leaders very rarely used their undenied right to a place and part in the Quarterly Conference, and were only sporadically encouraged to attend; (3) That in the history of American Methodism duly appointed female class leaders are found at least as far back as January 6, 1773, on which date, only thirteen days after the first Quarterly Conference of which we have any historic notice, Francis Asbury is known to have appointed one; (4) That in England at an early date women were made leaders, not only of women's classes, but also of classes including both sexes, "especially when the members were young;" (5) That in 1855 a woman, Mrs. Eliza Clark Garrett, gave to the Church its first endowed school of theology; (6) That in 1866 and the years contiguous thereto the women of the Church, by united effort in their Centennial Association and in the McClintock Association, created Heck Hall in Evanston, raised some \$20,000 for the School of Theology in Boston, and an even larger sum for the one in Madison; (7) That the Church has never denied or proposed to deny to women any theological instruction provided in these institutions; (8) That in 1868, the limiting word "male" having been inserted in the motion to submit the question of lay delegation to the laity for their vote (as in the previous plebiscite on the same subject), the General Conference, before adopting it, voted more than two to one to strike out the qualifying word, thus conceding to the men and women of the Church an equal right of suffrage in a matter of supreme constitutional importance; (9) That in 1869 the women of the Church founded their Foreign Missionary Society, an organization whose breadth of operation, steadiness of purpose, vigor of administration, and educative power over the Church have excited admiration on every continent; (10) That in the seventies, if not before, various women of gifts, graces, and usefulness were formally licensed as local preachers, and that in many places women were also found serving at the call of the local authorities in the capacity of stewards, trustees, and Sunday school superintendents; (11) That in some of the first Lay Electoral Conferences ever held, those of 1871 and 1872, regularly elected women delegates sat and voted, unchallenged by any authority, and with no suspicion of illegality; (12) That in an important report, adopted in 1872, the General Conference declared:

"The time has gone by when persons should be excluded from church offices on account of . . . sex;" (13) That the action of the General Conference in 1880 on the meaning of the "pronouns *he*, *his*, and *him*, when used in the Discipline with reference to stewards, class leaders, and Sunday school superintendents," was not a legislative creation of new rights, but in form and force a judicial interpretation of existing law touching existing rights; (14) That in 1880 the General Conference refused to authorize the licensing of women as local preachers and declared against the ordination of women—an action which in 1884 the Conference deemed it "inexpedient" to change; (15) That in 1880 the women of the Church founded their Home Missionary Society, an association whose services for the upbuilding of Christ's kingdom in our great cities, on the frontier, among the freedmen, among our foreign populations, and among the Indian tribes have been of incalculable value; (16) That three women were elected reserve delegates and given regular credentials to the General Conference of 1880, which credentials were accepted by the officers of the Conference as entitling them to a place on the officially published, and only officially published, roll of the reserve delegates of the body; (17) That no action implying so much as a question of the perfect legality of the elections was asked for by the bishops or taken by the General Conference; (18) That four years later two reserve delegates were elected and given regular credentials to the General Conference of 1884, which credentials were accepted by the officers of the Conference as entitling them to a place on the officially published, and only officially published, roll of the reserve delegates of that body; (19) That neither the bishops nor the General Conference presented at that time the slightest objection to the enrollment and official recognition of these delegates or of those of 1880; (20) That in 1887 duly elected lay delegates to the "Central Mission Conference of India" who were women were, in accordance with a formal episcopal ruling, admitted to membership and full participation in the business, and that the transactions of the Conference, on recommendation of the Standing Committee on the Itinerancy, were officially approved by the General Conference of 1888; (21) That in the West, a little prior to the meeting of the General Conference of 1888, a move-

ment was set on foot by certain ardent advocates of "woman suffrage" and related ideas—said advocates being by no means all of one sex or of one religious denomination—with a view to the placing of as many women as possible in the approaching General Conference; (22) That, mainly as a result, five women were elected regular delegates from various Electoral Conferences, and seventeen others reserve delegates; (23) That, chiefly as a consequence of this somewhat alarming development of ecclesiastical and other politics, a protest was lodged with the bishops, in which their authority as presidents of the General Conference was invoked against the seating of the elected women; (24) Finally, that, pursuant to the prayer of the signers of the protest, the elected women were formally challenged by the bishops, and their claims referred by the Conference to a special committee of seventeen appointed by the bishops.

Now, in order that the complicated, unprecedented, and very peculiar action then taken by the General Conference may be clearly understood, let us examine it, stage by stage, with all the circumspection of a thorough legal inquisition by question and answer.

1. What, and what only, was referred to the Committee of Seventeen? "The election of the delegates to this Conference who are women."

2. In the instruction as to the time of reporting how did the Conference designate its committee? "The Committee on the Eligibility of the Women."

3. Who were "the women?" The five against whose seating protest had been entered.

4. What did the committee report touching the eligibility of the five women? It recommended the adoption of two resolutions, numbered two and three, which were as follows:

(2) That the protest referred to this committee against the seating of [here were given the names of the women] is supported by the Discipline, and therefore they cannot regularly be admitted to seats. (3) That the Secretary of the General Conference shall notify the regularly elected reserve delegates from these Conferences that the seats herein referred to are vacant.

5. What would the adoption of resolutions two and three have settled? That all elections of women as delegates up to that moment lacked due warrant in the law.

6. What unconditioned and universal judgment did the committee recommend the Conference to adopt? "That under the constitution and laws of the Church, as they now are, women are not eligible as lay delegates in the General Conference."

7. What would the adoption of this judgment, with or without resolutions two and three, have settled? The ineligibility of women thenceforward, so long as the existing law and this authoritative judicial interpretation thereof remained unchanged.

8. Was this report of the committee adopted? No, it was not even submitted to vote.

9. What was done with it? First, by a vote of 249 to 173, it was qualified by an amendment.

10. What reason did the General Conference give for this action? The Conference said that in such an important matter "the Church generally should be consulted."

11. How was it proposed to consult the Church? By submitting to the Annual Conference membership and to the next General Conference an amendment to the second restrictive rule, adding these words: "And said delegates may be men or women."

12. After this qualification of the report, what was adopted as expressing the mind and will of the Conference touching the general principle of woman's eligibility? This:

Under the constitution and laws of the Church, as they now are, women are not eligible as lay delegates in the General Conference; but since there is great interest in this question, and since the Church generally should be consulted in regard to such an important matter; therefore, *Resolved*, that we submit to the Annual Conferences the proposal to amend the second restrictive rule by adding the words, "And said delegates may be men or women," after the words, "Two lay delegates for an Annual Conference," so that it will read, "Nor of more than two lay delegates for an Annual Conference, and said delegates may be men or women."

13. By what vote was it passed? By one so close that the change of one layman from "aye" to "no" would have defeated the measure.

14. Was the vote adopting the amended report one, or more than one? It was one integral act, completed, so far as the

General Conference was concerned, in one and the same indivisible moment of time.

15. Is it correct to say, "The General Conference first declared the meaning of the law, and then gave the Church a chance to change it?" No. On the contrary, the Conference first attached the provision for an appeal to the Church to the committee's proposed determination and declaration of the existing law, and then, by one indivisible vote, determined and declared the force of the law, qualified by the proposed appeal to the Church, (a) as it bore upon past elections, and (b) as it bore on elections yet in the future.

16. What, then, was the force of the provision for an amendment of the second restrictive rule? It was a provision for ascertaining the sentiments of the about-to-be-consulted Church, and so reaching a determination of the whole matter which should have final and absolute validity.

17. According to the determination of the one integral and all-decisive vote, what was the force of the law (as qualified by the proposed appeal to the Church) as it bore upon past elections? It could not be known until the result of the appeal to the Church was known.

18. In the meantime, what was the legal status of the five women? They were not entitled to their seats.

19. On what grounds? Simply and solely because their rights under the existing law had not yet been finally and absolutely determined.

20. Did not the third resolution, by declaring the five seats vacant, necessitate the inference that an absolute and final judgment had been given? No.

21. Why not? Because, as the elected women were as yet neither entitled nor non-entitled to their seats, the seats were in fact vacant, and the notification ordered gave the delegations or delegates concerned freedom to use their discretion as to filling the vacancies with unchallenged reserves.

22. Why is it impossible to consider the amended resolutions one, two, and three an unconditional and, for the time, final declaration of the ineligibility of women? Because to assert it is to assert that the General Conference officially and solemnly declared that the personal rights in question ought not to be allowed or denied without "consulting the Church gener-

ally," and yet in the self-same indivisible moment of time, on its own sole authority, officially and solemnly denied those same rights absolutely and, for the time, finally.

23. What must one further show in order to maintain that the General Conference of 1888 pronounced an unqualified and, for the time, final judicial declaration of the ineligibility of women? One must show that a report, that based the full acknowledgment or the absolute denial of the constitutional rights of two thirds of the members of the Church upon the issue of a proposed judicial vote of that General Conference, was absolutely unaffected in meaning or force by an accepted, embodied, and adopted amendment, whose sole expressed purpose was to base the acknowledgment or denial of these rights upon the issue of a proposed vote of the traveling preachers and of the next General Conference.

24. According to the determination and declaration of the one integral vote, what was the force of the law (as qualified by the appeal to the Church) as it bore upon future elections? It could not be known until after the consulted Church had made its response.

25. What, then, was the status of women from the time of the vote, May 6, 1888, until the moment when, in the spring of 1892, one more than one fourth of the traveling preachers had voted against the Neely amendment to the second restrictive rule? They were neither legally eligible nor legally ineligible.

26. What, then, first absolutely and unconditionally determined the force of the term "lay delegates" in a sense that excluded women? The failure of the Neely amendment to the second restrictive rule.

27. What important peculiarity of the act of 1888 has been unnoticed in our public discussions? Its irrevocableness by the body that passed it.

28. Why was it irrevocable? Because it was an unfinished act, in which the two parties to the suit were bound by a conditioned consummation dependent on the will of third parties, namely, the Annual Conference membership and their representatives in the next General Conference—*actus inceptus cuius perfectio pendet ex voluntate partium revocari potest; si autem pendet ex voluntate tertiæ personæ, vel ex contingenti, revocari non potest.*

29. What follows from this? Something of interest to both the original parties, namely, that if, a few days after the vote, the minority had rallied or won over the few men necessary to constitute themselves a majority, and then by reconsideration attempted to reverse the first resolution or any other clause of the one undivided act, the attempt would have been unlawful; and for the reason that every sentence and materially significant word was an inseparable part of one indivisible and irrevocable *actus inceptus*, whose process was not as yet complete.

30. Would, then, this reasoning have been just as cogent had the opposite party prevailed? Certainly.

31. Can we imagine a parallel case? Readily. Suppose that in 1880, in view of the actual election of three women as reserve delegates to that General Conference, conservatives had raised the same challenge that they did eight years later. Suppose that then, as a settlement of the matter, the General Conference had adopted *verbatim* the amended Moore resolution of 1892, inserting for the sake of a less abrupt transition the word "but" at the beginning of the Hamilton amendment, and omitting the final resolution as to the eventual construction of the term "lay delegates." Suppose that then, some days after the completion of this parallel to the situation after the vote in 1888, in consequence of the illness and retirement of a delegate, the Conference had been asked to seat a reserve who was a woman, and this on the ground that some days before the Conference had judicially decided and declared that "in all matters connected with the election of lay delegates the word 'laymen' ought to be understood, and must of right be understood, to include all members of the Church who are not members or presidents of the Annual Conferences." Could she have been seated? By no means, and for the good reason that the alleged judicial declaration would not as yet have received the full, permanent, and unconditional force of law. Whatever their sentiments touching the admission of women at the proper time and in the proposed way, all good judges of law would have had to say, "The woman cannot now be seated."

32. Why is it unfitting, not to say unfair, in an opponent of eligibility to claim that the General Conference gave an

unqualified judicial declaration? Because at a time when, for the express purpose of obtaining for the Conference a chance to give such a declaration, a well-known friend of eligibility had moved to divide the amended paper, an equally well-known opponent of the women's cause, with his friends, promptly laid the motion for a division on the table. This procedure certainly seemed to show that the party opposing eligibility was unwilling to allow a vote to be taken on the proposed unqualified judicial declaration.

33. What further infelicity attended this tabling of the motion for a division? It manifestly, though doubtless without intended unfairness, placed the supporters of Dr. Queal's motion in the unamiable attitude of saying to their brethren on the other side, "We will give you a chance to make women eligible, if you can, in the hardest possible way; but we will not first give you a chance to know whether, under the existing constitution and laws, they are not already eligible."

34. Why was the tabling of the call for a division unfair to some members of Dr. Queal's own party? Because it practically disfranchised every man who firmly and conscientiously believed the participation of women in General Conference legislation to be a form of womanly authority over men prohibited by the word of God. Such a man could not conscientiously vote against the undivided act, for that would be to throw his influence with the advocates of women's eligibility. On the other hand, he could not conscientiously vote for it, for this would be to promise to women a divinely forbidden authority, provided only that the Church would vote it by sufficiently high consecutive majorities.

35. Was this wholly unprecedented "consulting of the Church generally," by providing for the vote of the Annual Conference members in the giving of a judicial decision, "unconstitutional?" Yes and no. Yes, in the sense that no provision in our written or unwritten constitution at the time required or contemplated such a thing; no, in the sense that under our peculiar system of government every act of the General Conference considered constitutional by the Conference itself is so.

36. Was the act, because un contemplated by any provision of our existing constitution at the time of its proposal, on that

account void? No, for the reason that no act of the General Conference can be void until pronounced so by the General Conference.*

37. Why was the total action of 1888, however interpreted, an unfortunate precedent? Because it inaugurated an original form of procedure, in following which a majority of "two," or even of one, in any General Conference can so condition a proposed construction of the constitution and laws upon an invited verdict of the Church that the vote of one fourth of the members of the Annual Conferences, plus one, shall outweigh and, in legal effect, completely neutralize the vote of three fourths of the Annual Conference members, minus one, touching the same question.

38. Is this novel procedure applicable to the general rules, as well as the General Conference charter? Certainly. In case a barest majority of any General Conference desires to see dancing, card-playing, and theater-going made lawful, all it needs to do is, first, to prepare a paper like the following:

Resolved, That the practice of dancing, etc., as existing in other Christian communions, is not inconsistent with the general rules of our Church touching the taking of such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus; but, since there is great interest in this question and since the Church generally should be consulted in such an important matter, therefore, *Resolved*, that we submit to the Annual Conferences the proposition to amend the general rule, so that it shall read, "The taking of such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus, such as dancing, card-playing, and theater-going."

Let, then, the dance-loving majority of one adopt the paper "and persuade one more than one fourth of the traveling preachers to vote against the proposed amendment," and, *presto*, the desired end is attained! Precisely so in any similar case. But to see all the possibilities of this procedure one must remember that in the above case, or in any similar one, it is not at all necessary that the majority of the General Conference present and voting favor the proposed construction of the rule, but only that a majority favor submitting the question in this form to the Church. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that, as two thirds of the body is a legal quorum and one more

* Or by the secular courts, in the case of parties who outlaw themselves from the Church and refuse to recognize the authority of the General Conference. See Warren's *Constitutional Law Questions*, pp. 51-56.

than one half of this number a legal majority, one more than one third of the General Conference, with one more than one fourth of the traveling elders, could in a conceivable case effectually settle the force of our constitution and laws and general rules according to their own mind, however opposed thereto the Church at large might be.

39. In what situation did the action of 1888 leave every member of the Annual Conferences who conscientiously believed that the true legal meaning of the terms "laity" and "lay delegate" was inclusive of women? He could only say, with a revered "Observer" on a later occasion :

Herein is the queerness of the situation. If I want the law to remain unchanged I must vote for a change. If I want the law changed I must vote against any change. In order to keep the law as it is there must be a vote of three fourths in favor of putting in new words and retaining the old meaning; while to keep the old words and obtain new meaning only a vote of one fourth is required. A vote for a change is a vote for the law as it has been.

40. What other words of the same writer would have, at the time, expressed the feelings of many? The following :

Whether this strange situation has been brought about regularly, with a full knowledge and consent of the General Conference, or not, it is a situation which is sufficiently absurd to merit the indignation of the Church. It lays Methodism open to the ridicule of all who love straight-forwardness and abhor indirection in serious legislation.

The foregoing questions and answers present a number of points in a fresh light. They show that many previous writers on both sides of the controversy have assumed or asserted things that do not accord with the facts or with any just inferences from the facts. We have been careful, however, not to name or to criticise any previous writer, and have kept far aloof from all personal and partisan polemics. In another article we hope with due impartiality briefly to set forth the curiously similar and curiously dissimilar action of the year 1892, and then to propose and advocate a new and so much needed constitutional amendment in which both parties, without sacrifice of principle, can heartily unite.

William F. Warren.

ART. VI.—LESSING'S UNFAIRNESS IN "NATHAN THE WISE."

THAT *Nathan the Wise* is one of the loftiest peaks in the mountain range of German literature will be readily conceded. There are probably not half a dozen German dramas better known or more admired than this child of Lessing's old age. Yet, in spite of all this, no production in the language has been more criticised. As a work of art it is not without many and serious defects, for Lessing, though a great poet, was, *par excellence*, a critic. He was more a Mars than an Apollo. His ardent nature, combative spirit, and restless activities disqualified him from dwelling at peace in the sacred groves of the muses. His life was one of turmoil, not of rest; of action, not of contemplation. No wonder Goethe styled him the Achilles, and not the Homer, of German literature!

The biography of this great man is too well known that it should be necessary to enter into the details of his life or works. Consequently, this paper will be limited to the consideration of some facts that are often, if not entirely, overlooked, or are but slightly touched upon. Some reasons will be assigned which may throw light upon his lifelong opposition to positive religion. It will be generally conceded that the teachings in Lessing's controversial writings, especially emphasized in his *Nathan*, are, on the whole, quite unfriendly to every form of revealed religion. While saying this, it may be added that no German author has been more helpful and suggestive to the writer than Lessing.

It may be said, at the beginning of this paper, that Lessing's life was not a life of happiness, but rather one of friction, of bitter disappointment, and in many regards one of utter failure and of galling poverty; or, as Scherer puts it: "He passed through many varied experiences, many illusions and disappointments, and was a roaming seafarer, gathering treasures from all countries, but finding no fixed habitation anywhere." Lessing was born in a parsonage. The words "parsonage" and "poverty" are not necessarily synonymous; but the house of Lessing's father and the vicarage at Wakefield were not the only two ministers' homes which had to battle hard to keep the

wolf from the door, or felt the inconvenience of meager incomes when it was necessary to keep up the forms of respectability. Notwithstanding limited incomes and various other drawbacks, the parsonage has furnished its full share of illustrious men for every field of activity, be it literature, art, science, theology, the marts of trade, or the great industries of the world. In spite, however, of the refining influences, the religious atmosphere, and the most careful training, it has often happened that no class of men have so completely shaken off all restraints as the sons of ministers. The Lord be praised that the number is not large! The rigid discipline and the forced economy have proved too much. No class of children suffer more from the inconveniences of poverty than those of many ministers, who, as a rule, are the peers of their fellows in intellectual and natural endowments, but who forever feel cramped for means to secure the highest culture demanded by the society in which they are expected to shine. It is difficult for them to realize the truth of the beatitude which says, "Blessed are the poor in spirit," and still more difficult to harmonize an empty purse with a state of bliss.

Poverty met Lessing at the very threshold of life, and continued to stare him in the face till well-nigh the close of his earthly pilgrimage. One of twelve children, if he is educated at all, it must be at the expense of some kind-hearted patron or public institution. When a student's expenses are thus defrayed there are, generally, at least, two limitations: first, the allowance, in the very nature of the case, must be meager; and, secondly, no society or organization will educate those openly hostile to its principles or such as are likely to become so. Thus, at an early age, young Lessing refuses to remain a beneficiary at the University of Leipsic and gives up the stipends voted him by his native town. It has been said that he regarded this aid as altogether too small, and utterly inadequate for the support of a gentleman. Be that as it may, he throws off this yoke and begins the battle of life upon his own responsibility. He now devotes himself to private enterprises, such as translation and writing for the local press.

Then, much more than now, literary men, without some private income or stated salary, did not fare sumptuously, but had to fight even for the scantiest livelihood. Thus it was with

Lessing. He had to fight for bread in the most literal sense of the word, no less than for truth and freedom. Poverty, unless sweetened by the consolations of religion or rendered bearable by the highest philosophy, is not a means of grace such as will aid in the cultivation of a genial disposition, unbounded charity, and cheerful magnanimity. We cannot say of Lessing that "chill penury" repressed his "noble rage;" but we may assert that poverty did freeze "the genial current of the soul." How often has poverty embittered the possessors of great intellects and transformed great minds into carping cynics, especially when a sect or a clique has stood like a stone wall between the victim and the coveted success! No one can understand Lessing's spiritual or religious nature without recognizing this fact, which so severely interfered with the symmetrical development of his soul. Poverty continued, as a thorn in his flesh, almost to the verge of the grave. His own pugnacious nature and restless temperament and incessant warfare upon those who differed from him, even in small things, served only to sharpen this thorn and give deeper pain to its keen touch.

Poverty is not the only inconvenience imposed by a life at a parsonage. There is a certain standard of morality and orthodoxy required of the preacher and his family which is not insisted upon in other circles. Hence the oft-repeated and unjust slander against ministers' children. Orthodoxy and even morality are variable quantities, and should never be considered apart from chronology and geography. The age of Lessing might have demanded more of the one and less of the other than our own age. So in what follows the standard adopted in the middle of the eighteenth century, rather than at the close of the nineteenth, must be applied. We can easily imagine the anxious care with which Lessing's parents endeavored to instill correct principles, no less than right ideas, into the mind of their child, who, they hoped, "would be a real man of God" and would prepare himself to fill the sacred office held by his father. In spite of parental solicitude, we find young Lessing's mind, at the early age of twelve, greatly stirred up on the subject of the theater. The rector of the public school at Kamenz had written an essay entitled "The Stage a School of Eloquence." Lessing, Sr., and Lessing, Jr., took opposite sides. While the father attacked the essay from the pulpit the son

summoned all the logic and rhetoric at his command in its defense. Young Lessing's mind could not be changed. He stubbornly refused to yield. Consequently, he was withdrawn from the school of his native village and sent to Meissen. He changed schools, but not his opinion, for his love for the stage remained undiminished; yea, more, it rapidly grew into a passion, increasing from day to day until Lessing became the acknowledged leader, and, indeed, we might say the founder, of the purely German drama.

Father and son continued to cherish different views, and, much to the grief of the father, mother, and sister, the son and brother became more and more attached to the stage, and naturally the more hostile to the Church; for then, as now, the pulpit and the theater were sworn enemies. Lessing believed that he could popularize the drama and make it the greatest moral element in the education of the nation. The Protestant clergy, for the most part, convinced that the stage could not exert a wholesome influence upon the morals of the people, opposed him in this. Controversy became bitter on both sides. The more orthodox and evangelical the minister, the less liberal was he in his views regarding the influence of the theater. This, again, served to widen the gap between Lessing and the orthodox theologians, as well as to bring him into closer union with the freethinkers of his times. It was about this period that he became very intimate with Moses Mendelssohn, one of a race hated and persecuted by the German people. Whatever may be said of the possibilities of the stage, one thing is established beyond controversy; that is, that the majority of actors and actresses are not models of conduct regarded from an ethical standpoint. Thus, it need not surprise us if Lessing's fondness for the stage and his intimacy with this class of people did not prove conducive to the development of a high and lofty moral character. One of Lessing's most intimate friends was one Mylius, a former schoolmate, who had been embittered against the Church—not without some cause, since he had been fined and imprisoned for having written a poem in which several distinguished dignitaries had been unmercifully lampooned. Mylius was a man of brilliant intellect, but utterly devoid of moral sense or perception, very coarse, and entirely wanting in refinement. He was not only very heterodox, but very dissolute.

Voltaire's influence upon Lessing's character had been, if not positively pernicious, yet far from beneficial. In their disinclination to positive religion and in their demand for religious toleration they were both of one mind, and Lessing's clear, unadorned prose, which fits every *nuance* of thought, might have been acquired from Voltaire had it not been natural to himself. His alienation from the teachings of the Lutheran Church and his departure from the admonitions of his parents, together with the low standard of morality prevalent among his intimate associates, were not without dangerous results. As Scherer says, "His orthodoxy was put to the test and succumbed;" and he might have added, without danger of contradiction, that his morals also received a severe shock. Hostility to creed is often a mere plea for greater indulgence in doubtful practices, an endeavor to lower the standard of morality, as taught in the New Testament, to the level of the carnal mind and unsanctified affections. The source of such hostilities are oftener in the heart than in the head. Christian ethics require the purest morals and the most unselfish life. If measured by this standard we are afraid that Lessing falls very far short.

He struggled all his life with poverty, but he obtained only a partial victory, and that very late in life. How to live within his income was a lesson he never fully mastered. He had the faculty, not only of contracting, but also of remaining in, debt. In this regard he differed widely from Spinoza, with whom he had so many traits in common. In the commercial world nothing militates against a person's success more than a disinclination or even disability to meet all financial obligations. Wherever this habit becomes chronic failure is imminent and genuine happiness entirely out of the question. Even the fact that Lessing was a very liberal man and altogether too indulgent to those depending upon him does not wholly exonerate him. Nor is it possible to explain away the fact that he was inordinately fond of gambling, not merely for recreation, but for gain as well. Miss Frothingham claims that there is no evidence for this. It is, however, a matter of history that he "played for such high stakes that even General Taunentzien expostulated with him." Lessing himself justifies this habit by saying that the eager attention which he gave to the faro

table set his clogged machine in motion and brought the stagnant juices into circulation. Goethe refers to his gambling in the following words :

Lessing was fond of casting off personal dignity because he was confident that he could resume it at any time ; and he delighted at that period to lead a dissipated life in taverns and society, since he needed constantly a counterpoise to his powerfully laborious soul.

Again, applying our high standard of morality, it would be perhaps impossible, however charitably disposed we might be to do so, to explain away Dessing's relations to Frau König, who within a reasonable time after the death of her husband became his wife. Inordinate affection for the wife of an intimate friend is in keeping neither with lofty philosophy nor with common decency. "There is," says a recent writer, "reason to believe that he had to smother a feeling toward the wife of his friend, which, as it appeared hopeless, made him desirous of leaving the city of Hamburg." These facts are mentioned, not for the purpose of degrading a great man, but to show that the evangelical clergy of his time and country were fighting no more for orthodoxy in opposing him than for a high standard of morality.

Lessing was a professional critic, and a destructive one at that. Wit and satire were his native elements. Even as a schoolboy he was dreaded as the most sarcastic of all his fellow-pupils. He cultivated a taste for satirical criticism. Two reasons may be assigned for this : first, that as he was thrown entirely upon his own resources it might be said that no species of writing would afford him more remuneration ; and, secondly, that there could be no finer field for him wherein to display his mighty genius and great learning. Many a German has achieved glory and renown, like Colonel Robert Ingersoll and other lesser lights in this country, not because of any special originality, but owing to a reckless daring which terrified many a grander intellect. We would not for a moment degrade Lessing by comparing him with Ingersoll ; nevertheless, both have some traits in common. Lessing manifested a genuine fondness for controversy. It was a part of his business. No subject was either too trifling or too sacred for his vigorous pen. Now we find him criticising the method of teaching in vogue in the public schools and universities of his country ;

now a poor pastor of Halle who had produced a faulty translation of Horace is made to smart under his whip; now Gottsched and other admirers of the French drama are held up to ridicule. Klopstock is too full of feeling; Wieland is too extravagantly fanciful. Voltaire, his natural enemy, is unmercifully tortured and humiliated; and even Winckelmann did not escape his pungent wit. As to Professor Klotz, he and all his followers are struck down with one fell blow, never to rise again.

In short, Lessing was a free lance, a regular Ishmaelite. The wonder is that he possessed such strength in so many varied fields. He seemed equally at home in art, literature, theology, philology, philosophy, and archæology, and that in all their branches. Having, however, suffered most from the orthodox theologian and those at the head of ecclesiastical affairs, it is but natural that he turned his heaviest batteries upon them. Thus, the most bitter and acrid, certainly the most noted, of all his controversies is that with Pastor Goeze, of Hamburg. This is so inseparably connected with *Nathan the Wise*, his admirers and defenders to the contrary notwithstanding, that it will be well to give a short account of its origin. The anti-Goeze letters were occasioned by the publication of what are known as the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*. These were seven papers issued by Lessing from a manuscript left by the late Professor Reimarus, of Hamburg, entitled, *A Vindication of the Natural Worship of God*. Though Lessing sympathized with the views expressed in these papers as a whole, yet he disagreed in some minor points. Bishop Hurst has given such an excellent summary of these papers that we could do no better than reproduce it here. Says Bishop Hurst:

The *Fragments* published by Lessing contain the gist of his [Reimarus's] entire work, and contributed far more to the growth of skepticism than a larger production would probably have done. The historical evidences of Christianity and of the doctrine of inspiration, according to the *Fragments*, are clad in such a garb of superstition that they do not merit the credence of sensible men. The confessions framed at different periods of the history of the Church have savored far more of human weakness than of divine knowledge. They bear but slight traces of biblical truth. The Trinity is incomprehensible, and the heart should not feel bound to lean upon what reason cannot fathom. Nearly all the Old Testament history is a string of legends and myths which an advanced age should indignantly reject. Christ never really intended to

establish a permanent religion; the work of his apostles was something unanticipated by himself. His design was to restore Judaism to its former state, throw off the Roman yoke, and declare himself king. His public entry into Jerusalem was designed to be his installation as a temporal king; but he failed in his dependence upon popular support, and, instead of attaining a throne, he died on the cross. Belief in scriptural records is perfectly natural to the Christian, for he has imbibed it from education and training. Reason is forestalled in the ordinary education of children. They are baptized before they are old enough to exercise their own reasoning faculties. Faith in Scripture testimony is really of no greater value than the belief of the Mohammedan or Jew in their oracles, unless reason be permitted to occupy the seat of judgment.

No sooner were these radical views published than the entire theological world of Germany was in uproar. The controversy raged violently for some time, but was suddenly stopped. Lessing was compelled to withdraw in dishonor, not because he was necessarily wrong, but because the enemy were more numerous and powerful than he. The Consistory of Brunswick prevailed upon the civil government to interfere, the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* were confiscated, and Lessing was forbidden henceforth to publish anything, anywhere, on theological subjects, without first having submitted the manuscript to the censors and having obtained permission from the authorities. This, as might be expected, served only to fan the flame, and the smoldering ashes are made to burn again. Lessing now defiantly turns about and attacks his most insolent enemy, Goeze, from another quarter. If the use of the press is forbidden him he will turn the stage into the battlefield, from which he may challenge his enemies with impunity. He says, "I must see if they will let me preach undisturbed in my old pulpit, the theater."

There are those who disclaim that *Nathan the Wise* is in any way connected with the controversy occasioned by the *Fragments*. This, however, is positively wrong, and needs no refutation. The fact that he had planned such a drama some time before the controversy arose proves nothing. Even Kuno Fischer, though denying that *Nathan* owed its genesis to the anti-Goeze letters, yet admits that Lessing's poetical works stand in very close connection with his critical prose writings. He says, "The *Literaturbriefe* are followed by *Minna von Barnhelm*, the *Dramaturgie* by *Emilia Galotti*,

and the anti-Goeze writings by *Nathan*." While it is possible that the idea of this great drama was suggested by the works of Cardan and Boccaccio, it is evident that the work as we have it is a culmination of the above-mentioned controversy. *Nathan* was commenced in the very year the Brunswick government forbade the publication of Lessing's theological papers. The subjects discussed in the poem are virtually the same as those in the *Fragments*. Both were written in the interest of religious toleration, and to show that the higher type of religion was possible even outside of the Christian Church. Lessing maintained that "all creeds, if sincere and accompanied by benevolence, are to be honored because, although each cannot be the true creed, yet each will in that way fulfill the object of all religion." Lessing, like Voltaire, advocated religious toleration; but, as Hagenbach has profoundly observed, "There is a toleration of shallowness, of cowardice, of religious indecision, of religious indifference—a toleration that easily and finally degenerates into intolerance, which is the hatred of everyone who wishes to hold and profess a firm and positive religion." This language may be too strong if applied to Lessing; yet his ruthless criticisms in the various fields of learning are far from breathing the highest type of toleration.

The unfairness of Lessing in his *Nathan* is manifest in the selection of his characters. The lay brother, Daja, the templar, and the patriarch are Christians; Saladin, Sittah, and possibly the dervish represent the Mohammedan religion; while Nathan is a Jew, and Recha, the flower of the drama, if anything, is a freethinker. We are aware that there are those who firmly maintain that Lessing did not intend to make these characters representatives of their religions, much less to present Christianity in the very poorest light. The question is, however, quite germane, why he selected such unworthy persons from among the Christians. Why should Nathan, the Jew, be the paragon of virtue, and why should the Patriarch of Jerusalem be the embodiment of all that is heartless, bigoted, and hypocritical? The latter is a man so utterly lost to virtue as to think his wickedness pleasing to God. No fair-minded man would so caricature Christians and so seek to enhance the virtues of Saladin or Nathan at the risk of degrading

the religion of his fathers. The world has rarely seen a more perfect type of manhood than Lessing's Nathan. It is possible, but not probable, that Jews like him might be found outside the realm of imagination. Judaism, however, as such, is not good soil for the production of such perfect characters. Be that as it may, no one will deny that better types of Christians than are found in this drama were very abundant in Lessing's day, while worse specimens could not have been found anywhere in the whole world. Vain will it be to say that Lessing wished to show that the most atrocious persons might profess the most tolerant of all religions and yet be without one spark of true cosmopolitan charity; while, on the other hand, "a member of the most exclusive religion might, like Nathan, raise himself above the religious notions in which he had been brought up."

The story of the three rings, beautiful though it be, is yet misleading. It assumes that one religion is as good as another, or, what amounts to the same, that no religion is true; and, further, that, if at any time there was a true religion, it was so long ago that now, after the lapse of millenniums, no one can divine what it was. Religion is compared to a ring:

In gray antiquity there lived a man,
In Eastern lands, who had received a ring
Of priceless worth from a beloved hand.

This ring was handed down from father to son for many ages. For a time all went well; but finally the true ring became confounded with other counterfeited rings, so that each of three sons sincerely believed he had the genuine one:

Questioning then ensues,
Strife, and appeal to law; but all in vain.
The genuine ring was not to be distinguished—
As indistinguishable as, with us,
The true religion.

Now, what is Lessing's natural conclusion? It is that there is no true religion, or if there be that no one has the power to tell which it is. Thus, the toleration preached in this drama is the natural outcome of hostility to all forms of positive religion, a tolerance which has its origin in doubt and "in skepticism as to the possibility of man's ever attaining absolute truth." If we

are to believe Lessing's own words, he did not care for the attainment of the truth. Said he on one occasion :

If God should hold in his right hand all truth, and in his left the everlasting impulse and love of search after truth, although accompanied with the condition that I should ever err, and should say, "Choose!" I would choose the left with humility and say, "Give, Father! Pure truth belongs to thee alone!"

The admission that truth cannot be found or the conclusion arrived at in *Nathan the Wise* tends to weaken a longing for the truth, to indulge a willingness to remain in the dark and an inclination to skepticism—all of which are calculated to destroy the reader's respect for revealed religion. If toleration is taught at all in the drama it is simply in that we feel ourselves plunged into an abyss of error, from which we have no hope of ever emerging. Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* has helped as much as any book written in any language to unchristianize the German people. It has been one of the most potent factors in spreading agnosticism over Europe. Lessing did well in advocating the greatest liberty in matters of faith and conscience, in emphasizing good works and brotherly love. Hatred, bigotry, and intolerance cannot promote any religion. But, after all, were there many in Lessing's days who were more intolerant than he himself? Though he praised St. John for his lovable spirit and godlike disposition, did he himself at any period of his life imitate the beloved disciple? Was his spirit of controversy the natural fruit of Johannine love? Were those merciless castigations inflicted upon Pastor Lange, or the barbed darts fired at Goeze, or even the savage strictures upon Winckelmann the best that any religion could offer?

Unless a love of virtue light the flame,
Satire is, more than those he brands, to blame.
He hides behind a magisterial air
His own offenses, and strips others bare.

As Kuno Fischer says :

There is a toleration which the world commends and which most men practice, priding themselves upon it as virtue, though it is the easiest thing in the world. It requires us only to be indifferent to the belief of others. When we have once thrown religion upon that heap of things we characterize as "trash" it is very easy not to concern ourselves about it in

other people, especially as the reasoning faculty is thereby saved a great labor. I know not whether this so-called toleration is better than its opposite.

The unfairness of Lessing shows itself most plainly when we consider that he borrows the leading doctrines of Christianity without giving this blessed religion any credit for them. This is a grave fault, and one very common with skeptics in all lands. The truth is that the idea of religious toleration has never been emphasized by any great religious body except the Christians. Christianity, *par excellence*, preaches "the love which is identical with wisdom," the era of peace on earth and good will to men. The great task of the followers of Christ has been all through the ages to unite men—all men—in the bonds of love and purity. Professor Primer puts the case strongly, as follows:

Judaism did not extend the love of neighbor beyond its national boundary, and prayed for the destruction of the enemy. Islamism extended its neighborly love to all the races of its confession and put the others to fire and sword. Christianity broke down the barriers, and brought true humanity into the world, and extended the love of neighbor to the love of mankind in general. . . . This love we know is the touchstone of real religion. But Lessing, through *Nathan*, makes it the property of the Mohammedan, Jewish, and Christian religions, when it belongs to the Christian alone.

W. W. Davis.

ART. VII.—THE REFUGEE CHURCHES IN ENGLAND.

THE situation of the island of Great Britain was peculiarly favorable to the Protestant fugitives from persecution on the Continent. England offered at times to the Huguenots of France a place of refuge even more advantageous than Holland or Switzerland, hospitable though these were. Holland, during the period of the persecutions of the sixteenth century, was engaged in a long and unceasing warfare to secure her own religious freedom, as well as her political independence. Moreover, the Dutch republic and Switzerland were comparatively small countries, and Switzerland, at least, was compelled by reason of its geographical position to stand upon its guard and always to exercise more or less circumspection, so as not too openly to defy the power of the French monarchs. The only wonder is that the independence both of the cantons and of the republic of Geneva was so well respected. It was a standing occasion of annoyance to the Roman Catholic rulers of France and of Savoy, that they had by their very doors a little city at the outlet of Lake Lemman which, though scarcely more than a fair-sized town in population and in extent of dependent territory, dared to offer an asylum to those that were persecuted for righteousness' sake as heretics. The plots formed against Geneva from both quarters were numerous, but were providentially frustrated by events that aroused the astonishment even of unbelievers. In a few cases, however, the sanctity of neutral territory was violated, and men whom the French government was specially desirous of seizing were even kidnapped beyond the limits of the kingdom and, like poor Marcellus, captured on Swiss soil, were taken forcibly to France and executed there in defiance of all the principles of international law. More frequently, the French minister resident made remonstrances, and even threats, which even Berne and Geneva dared not altogether disregard. Thus it was that, with all their famed hospitality, Berne and Geneva were obliged occasionally to request the refugees to go farther from the French frontier. Thus it was also that when, in the eighteenth century, the proscribed Protestants of the "Desert" were desirous of establishing a training school or theological seminary, to prepare men

for the perilous work of preaching in the secret conventicles of the south of France, they were compelled to place it at Lausanne, because the Genevese did not covet the dangerous honor of having it in their city.

England, because of its strength and its insular character, was free from all such fears and from the necessity of such extreme caution. Besides this, it was far more accessible to the numerous Protestants of the western, and especially the north-western, seaboard. A few hours' sail with a fair breeze would bring the Huguenot from Normandy to the southern shore of Kent; and, without utterly annihilating commerce (which no French monarch dared to do), it was impossible to prevent Protestants, and particularly Protestant sailors, from taking refuge on English soil until the storm of persecution should have passed. The story of the little seaport of Rye and its relations with Dieppe, three centuries ago the most commercial maritime city of France, is a curious one. The Protestants comprised probably the largest, and certainly by far the most industrious, part of the population of Dieppe. Accustomed as were the Dieppois to make long voyages—its navigators even claimed, though without good reason, that they had circumnavigated Africa before the Portuguese—they thought nothing, when threatened with religious persecution, of crossing the channel with their wives and children. As they took their pastors with them, and as their elders and deacons were of their number, the Huguenot churches were merely transferred from Dieppe to Rye and its neighbor, Winchelsea. There was little or no interruption of public worship, and on British soil the meetings of their consistory or session and the administration of discipline were as regular as on Norman ground. The migration and the return took place not once nor twice, but as often as severities increased or diminished. The ebb and flow between Dieppe and Rye continued for many years at irregular intervals, in the latter part of the sixteenth century.* In the words of Baron Schickler, the history of the refugee church of Rye is so closely bound to that of Dieppe that the former may properly be considered as an annex of the Norman parish.

* See that interesting chronicle of the seventeenth century first printed by the *Société Rouennaise de Bibliophiles*, in 1878, under the title *Histoire de la Réformation à Dieppe, 1557-1637*, par Guillaume et Jean Daval.

The importance of the church at Rye was transient and fluctuating. It was otherwise with the French and Dutch churches of the interior, formed by fugitives who came, not with the view of returning at once to their native lands as soon as a return was practicable, but with the expectation of remaining long, if not permanently, and of whom great numbers helped, by the trades they introduced, to build up the manufactures of the country that became their new home.

The history of the refugee churches is an interesting one, but has not been written until lately. Mr. John Southerden Burn, it is true, brought out, years ago, a single volume of great merit—*The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and other Foreign Protestant Refugees settled in England, from the Reign of Henry VIII to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (London, 1846). But, though full of curious and valuable antiquarian information, the limits of the book were too contracted for an adequate treatment. Rev. Dr. David C. A. Agnew's work on the *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV*, quite different in character, and even more valuable to the historical student, is preeminently biographical and genealogical. It is mainly, as the subtitle indicates, a study of "the Huguenot Refugees and their Descendants in Great Britain and Ireland." Each of the editions, of which there were three, including the first publication of the book in 1866, and the last, issued, just before the lamented author's death, in 1877, marks a distinct step in the mastery of the subject. Nowhere else can the individual fortunes of such great leaders as the three Dukes of Schomberg, or the two Marquises of Ruigny (the younger better known as the Earl of Galway), or the adventures of a host of other men that occupied less conspicuous places be read to better advantage.

But, without disparagement of the great value of the works of Burn and Agnew in their special departments, it may be said with truth that the connected history of the French and Walloon churches in England was never written until Baron Fernald de Schickler undertook to treat of it in the three handsome volumes which appeared in 1892.* The author, an enlightened and enthusiastic student of Huguenot history, has

* *Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre.* Par le Baron F. de Schickler. 3 vols., royal 8vo. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1892.

devoted his time and contributed nobly of his means to the prosecution of his favorite branch of knowledge. In 1865 he succeeded in the presidency of the French Protestant Historical Society Mr. Charles Read, who is entitled more than any other man to be called the founder of that most important learned society. Under Baron Schickler's administration it has thriven wonderfully, and the monthly *Bulletin* published by it has become more and more indispensable to all investigators of the past of French Protestantism. In 1885 Mr. Schickler secured the permanence, and room for the future growth, of the now magnificent library of the society by the gift of a large and commodious building in the *Rue des Saints Pères*, in the city of Paris, where, thanks to the munificent contributions of books and manuscripts made by himself and other generous friends, there is a collection of works upon this special subject unrivaled elsewhere. The first fruits of Baron Schickler's careful researches were given to the world in a sketch of the refugee churches in all countries, contributed to Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses*, and subsequently printed as a separate monograph of about one hundred and twenty pages. Only a part was given to the refugee churches in England, which form the sole theme of his more recent work. The latter is a book of extensive, minute, and conscientious scholarship. The plan is excellent, the parts are woven into a connected and entertaining narrative, and the style, which is clear, forcible, and dignified, is not unworthy of the noble subject of which the work treats. Strictly speaking, the third volume lies outside of the narrative, being devoted exclusively to the documents (all of them either hitherto unedited or inaccessible to most readers because of their rarity) upon which the book is in great part built. A few chapters in the second volume also are taken up with the history of the reformed churches in the Channel Islands, or Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, and Aurigny, which, although close to the French coast, belong to Great Britain. Baron Schickler's researches only come down to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685; but a second work, in two or more volumes, will doubtless take up the story where the present volumes stop and carry it down to our own times. With this continuation we shall have a work which the author may well view with satisfaction.

faction, as a noble fruit of his long and careful investigations and a notable contribution to our best historical literature.

The refugee churches do not necessarily date back of the reign of Edward VI, although the refugees began to make their way to England, in greater or less numbers, as early as the reign of Henry VIII. It is, indeed, among the singularities of Henry's conduct that he tolerated Protestant fugitives from the Continent at the very time that he proscribed the profession of the doctrines of Luther among his own subjects. In 1540 a number of Protestants and Roman Catholics were executed on one and the same occasion at the Tower of London, objects of the king's impartial detestation—the Roman Catholics being hung as rebels and the Protestants burned as heretics. Yet, so early as in 1537, Henry distinctly declined to extradite French refugees at the request of Francis I. Clearly, however, theirs could only have been a precarious existence in England, tolerated rather than protected. The few records of the naturalization of some of the number refer to them as French or Walloon workmen, but do not touch upon their religion.

The era of liberty was marked by the accession of Edward, in 1547; and the six years of his all too brief reign were so full of achievement and of promise as to leave undying regret that so good a prince was not spared to execute the glorious projects he had conceived, and to make of the Church of England a body in full touch and sympathy for all time with the reformed Churches of the Continent. In his plans and the plans of his broad-minded counselors the refugee churches were to play a part which has been too generally overlooked or misunderstood. The persecuted Protestants of every part of Europe were, indeed, welcomed for their own sake and for the sake of their common Christianity. As good, honest men and women, they were expected to add to the best elements of the population. As, in many cases, skilled artisans, they would, it was hoped, increase the manufactures, and so the wealth, of the country. But they were also members of Protestant communities that had enjoyed for some time the advantage of the training of the best reformed Churches of the Continent, of Churches organized and conducted by men who, to great piety and devotion, added the most scholarly attainments of the age. In this capacity they might serve as examples and their organizations as an

object lesson to the English churches just emerging from the darkness of subjection to a spiritual despotism that differed from the Roman chiefly by the substitution of the royal for the papal supremacy. So far as the great Protestant doctors were concerned who were invited from beyond the Channel and the North Sea, it is a fact that must not be lost sight of that they were brought to England by Edward VI, by Somerset, and by Cranmer, much less in order that there might be an opportunity of extending fraternal protection to them than for the purpose of securing their wise counsels and active assistance in the work of establishing and organizing the Church on a proper basis. Themselves much in doubt and wavering in their views as to the best method of procedure, quite aware of the difficulties confronting them in their arduous work, and particularly in dealing with a clergy which was but half reformed, the king's advisers looked eagerly abroad for help and guidance.*

Of the remarkable group of theologians whom Cranmer gathered about him at Lambeth Palace, Martin Bucer, of Strasbourg, Paul Fagius, and Peter Martyr Vermigli were undoubtedly the most celebrated, and English Protestantism made good use of them by calling them to take theological chairs at Oxford and Cambridge, where they did much to further the spread of evangelical views among the clergy. There was plenty of room for their exertions and the exertions of men like them; for, as one of their number, Fagius, observed of the field of their labors in England, "Everything here is complete chaos." But, after all, it was a reformer less famous than either Bucer or Peter Martyr that, by his efforts at organization, seemed destined to exert the most direct influence upon the permanent constitution of the Church. This man was John à Lasco, a Polish nobleman, who, having been converted to the Gospel, devoted himself first to the evangelization of his own native land, but, failing to realize his hopes, subsequently labored with great success at Embden, in East Friesland. It was this success, which proved him to be a man possessed of remarkable abilities as an organizer, that led to his being invited by the Archbishop of Canterbury and his associates to come to their assistance in a critical emergency. Nor did he disappoint their expectations. Having come after reiterated invitations, he

*Schickler, vol. i, p. 9.

first made a short stay of six months (1548-1549), and a year later, being forced to leave Embden in consequence of the "Interim," he returned and remained for a longer period. His labors in connection with the organization of the little French churches of Protestant refugees at London would have little importance in themselves. They derive their great significance from a fact which à Lasco himself informs us of in the dedication of his book, *De Ordinatione Ecclesiarum Peregrinarum in Anglia*, to King Sigismund of Poland in 1555. This fact is that Edward VI, who was inclined to reform the public worship of the Church as speedily as possible by the removal of certain remaining features of popery, concluded to do this gradually and only so far as the laws of the realm would permit, and meantime resolved to make a practical use of the churches which the strangers should be permitted to form, as nearly as possible upon apostolic models both in doctrine and practice. The king and his advisers, à Lasco included, "thought that, encouraged by this example, the English churches themselves would be unanimous throughout the kingdom in reverting to the apostolic worship in all its purity." * It must not be supposed that all the important concessions made to the French churches, of which we have not, unfortunately, room to speak, escaped opposition. The bishops, making the lord treasurer their mouthpiece, were instant in desiring that the foreigners should be required to conform to the ceremonies of the established Church of England. In fact, they made their influence so felt that a year or two elapsed after the refugees had been allowed to have preaching before they were permitted to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. It was really the firmness of the king himself that secured them this right in the end. The institution of such an office as the superintendency, it may be noticed, so far from being a concession to episcopacy, seems to have had its origin in a desire to have some one at the head of the foreign Church who might defend them against the assaults of the episcopal party.

King Edward in his grant had given to the foreigners the late church of the Augustinian Friars, and had ordained that it be henceforth designated as the Church of Jesus. Here both Flemings and French, or Walloons, worshiped, each in their own

* John à Lasco, in Schickler, vol. 1, p. 32.

tongue. Within two years the congregations became too large for this double use of the one edifice, and the king gave to the French another building, the chapel belonging to the hospital of Saint Anthony, in Threadneedle Street. The ministers in their official acts uniformly styled this the French church; but the influx of Walloons, or of inhabitants of the Low Countries speaking the French language, was so great under the reign of Elizabeth that outsiders ordinarily called it the Walloon Church. Other churches arose at nearly the same time with the church at London. The Duke of Somerset invited a colony of French and Walloon weavers to settle upon his estates, twenty-five miles from Bath, at Glastonbury, the ruins of whose famous abbey, founded by St. Augustine, or Austin, in the seventh century, now form the chief or sole object of interest to the visitor. This Glastonbury church, too, had its liturgy, not modeled upon that of à Lasco, but fashioned after the Strasburg liturgy. It is of interest that this, like that of à Lasco, had a funeral service and a more extended prayer.

Queen Elizabeth by no means viewed the French Protestants with the favor which Edward had displayed to them. Mr. Froude has shown, and Douglass Campbell has recently emphasized in his remarkable history (*The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*), the insincerity and tergiversations that marked her dealings with foreign Protestants and Protestantism, all arising from the fact that never, until after the great Armada, did she lose the hope and the desire of reconciliation with the pope and the Roman Catholic Church. Against the Huguenots, as Presbyterians and as closely bound to Geneva, she had the strongest aversion. John Knox had written his famous treatise against the rule of women; and she held Calvin and Beza accountable for having approved, or at least not having openly disapproved, the Scottish reformer's views. Yet her reign was, upon the whole, by far the most prosperous period in the history of the refugee churches. The cruel butchery of the reformers by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands and the proscriptions and persecutions attending the civil wars in France drove greatly increased numbers of fugitives beyond the Channel. Hence a number of new congregations arose, the most interesting being that of Canterbury, for

which the attempt has been made to discover an origin in the reign of Edward. Everyone has heard of the church of Wal-loons which was domiciled by the hospitality of the English in the crypt beneath the great cathedral, and every traveler knows that the place where the French services continue even now to be held divides the interest of the visitor with the tomb of Thomas à Becket and with the spot where the archbishop was murdered by the knights of King Henry II. But not everybody knows that such was the compassion felt for the exiles for religion's sake, and such the anxiety of the English to domesticate the industries which the exiles had brought with them from their native homes, that they were not merely permitted to worship God after their own accustomed rites, but encouraged to hold their schools and even, for a while, to set up their looms and engage in weaving in the undercroft of the cathedral church of the primate of all England.

Among the great services which the young and flourishing Huguenot Society of London has rendered to the cause of historical research is the recent issue, in one of its "publications," of the hitherto inedited minutes of the meetings of the Presbyteries and Synods of the foreign refugee churches.* One of the articles of the fifteenth Colloquy, or Presbytery, which met in London, April 23-27, 1601, relates to the cases, apparently not at all rare, where the ministers were outvoted by the much more numerous elders. Consulted by the brethren at Canterbury, whether in such a contingency the ministers might not at least exercise a right to suspend the execution of the resolution which they disapproved until the next meeting of the Presbytery, the Colloquy of London declined to take any action that would seem to deny the parity of the eldership, to which, by the constitution drawn up by John à Lasco, the Church was committed, and confined itself to recommending mature deliberation and the avoidance of all precipitate action.† In the words of Baron Schickler:

The article brings out prominently the preponderant influence of the elders, accruing to them by the great ecclesiastical part allotted to their functions in the Discipline of à Lasco. Each elder has the charge

* *Les Actes des Colloques des Églises Françaises et des Synodes des Églises Étrangères réfugiées en Angleterre, 1581-1654.* Transcribed and edited by Adrian Charles Chamier. Lynington, 1890.

† *Ibid.*, p. 40.

of a certain number of souls. It is he that makes inquiry into their lives and morals. It is he who gives or withholds the token for the Lord's Supper. Hence come the appeals frequently carried up to the colloquies, and the annoyance of a number of pastors temporarily among the refugees, subjected to the supervision of the elder of their quarter, and treated by him in the same manner as the other members of the flock, without regard to their ministerial character.*

The real tribulations of the refugee churches began with the reign of Charles I, and particularly with the efforts of Archbishop Laud to secure absolute conformity. Thus far the resident French and Flemish Protestants had been able to make good their position as against the authority of the Anglican bishop: "We are in the diocese," said they, "but not of the diocese." Now the High Church party, of whom Laud was the foremost representative, made it one of their chief objects to curtail the privileges accorded to the foreign churches of the same reformed faith with the Church of England. Many readers of ecclesiastical history are probably unaware of the violent antipathy which Laud had conceived against the refugee churches, and of the disastrous results that antipathy wrought upon his own destiny. Even before his exaltation to the archiepiscopal see, but when, as Bishop of London, he already exercised a powerful influence upon the Privy Council, he presented a paper setting forth both the peril in which the State stood from the foreign Protestants and the cure for the evil. Mr. Schickler gives the document in a French translation. Mr. W. J. C. Moens published the original in the appendix of his book, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich: their History and Registers, 1565-1832*.† The title of this curious sketch, which betrays all too clearly the future archbishop's policy, is, "Report and Remedy concerning the French and Dutch Churches, as they now stand in many parts of this Kingdom; First, the Danger, then, the Public Remedy." Admitting, in the first instance, that it was "honor and piety in this State" to welcome these churches "because at that time there was persecution upon them in their owne countreys, and the peace with which God then blessed this kingdom was their safety," the writer proceeded to observe that it was never the intention that the refugees

* *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, p. 339.

† In two parts, Lympington, 1887, 1888. Publication of the Huguenot Society of London.

should continue in England, marrying and many of them having "plentiful fortunes and lands," and "living like an absolute divided body from the Church of England established." This must needs work upon their affections, and alienate them from the State, "or at least make them ready for any innovation that may sort better with their humor." As they were now a Church within a Church, so in time they would grow to be "a kind of another commonwealth within this, and so ready for that which I hold not fit to express any farther." Living as they did "in all or most of the haven towns," especially such as lay "fittest for France and the Low Countreys," were occasion offered, "God knows what advantage they may make to themselves or make for others." This example, moreover, was injurious, "for many are confirmed in their stubborn ways of disobedience to the church government, seeing them so freely suffered in this great and populous city." Differing from the English in church discipline, these French and Dutch churches ought no more to be tolerated than the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England are tolerated beyond the seas. Such being the "danger," the "remedy" suggested consisted in first getting accurate information as to the number of the foreigners, and then, if they were to continue as a divided body from both Church and State, to treat them as strangers, and not as natives; that is, to compel them to pay double duties, as strangers are accustomed to do, and to deprive them of all special immunities, until such times as they would live as other subjects lived. He said further:

When it shall be thought fit actually to reduce them to live as other subjects do, both in relation to Church and State, the way I conceive may be to have them fairly warned in an ecclesiastical way, for every man with his household (if he be not a newcomer, but a born subject) to repair to his parish church here, to conform himself to prayers, sacraments, etc.; and, if any receive not according to canon and law, then to excommunicate him or them. And by that time the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* hath been served upon some few, it may be the rest will yield themselves.

Here was a very pretty work of persecution laid out to be inflicted upon the offspring of the men and women who had crossed the British Channel for the purpose of avoiding persecution in their native countries. Laud had shown very clearly

what might be expected of him as soon as, by the favor of Charles I, he should obtain free scope for his intolerant action. So far as that action concerned the English Puritans, this is, of course, not the place for its discussion. We have only to do with the particular display of his malice against the French churches. On December 19, 1634, by the famous "Injunctions," issued in his name by Sir Nathaniel Brent, his vicar general, the foreign churches received the double order, that all their members born in England should attach themselves to the churches of the parishes in which they resided and there listen to the word of God and perform all the duties of parishioners; while those members of foreign birth might, indeed, attend the refugee churches, but must use, after March 1, 1635, the English liturgy faithfully translated into the French and Flemish tongues. The alarm felt by the Walloons and their associates at this order led to the assembling of what was really the first Synod of the foreign churches. There was good reason for alarm. The archbishop was not only deaf to all remonstrance, but he answered every appeal with hard and insulting terms. He accused the foreigners of sitting at the communion in their churches as they would sit at the tavern, said that these churches were nests which he intended to reduce to catholic obedience, and charged them with being the cause of the growth both of papacy and schism.* King Charles went even further, and refused to listen to the address of Marinet, deputy of the churches. Even the mayor and common council of Canterbury became alarmed at the turn affairs were taking, and protested against the damage their town would receive should the intolerance of the government lead to the loss of the industries brought by the refugees from France and the Netherlands. This question, they said, more nearly affected their city than any other that had been raised within the memory of man.

The arbitrary course of Archbishop Laud was the cause of his overthrow. In 1640 he was arrested, and shortly after he was put in the Tower of London, where he languished three years before being put to death. It is of particular interest to notice that the treatment to which he had subjected the foreign churches was one of the distinct charges preferred against him by the House of Commons. The twelfth article of his im-

* Schickler, vol. II, p. 26.

peachment before the House of Lords, December 18, 1640, was in these words : *

He hath traytorously endeavoured to cause division and discord between the Church of England and other reformed Churches; and to that end hath suppressed and abrogated the privilege and immunities which have been by his Majesty and his royal ancestors granted to the French and Dutch churches in this kingdom; and divers other ways hath expressed his malice and disaffection to these churches, that so by such disunion the papists might have more advantage for the overthrow and entirpation of both.

No wonder that the poor refugees at Norwich and elsewhere felt and testified great joy at the downfall of their oppressor, and said in their quaint phrase, "It is merry with the lambs when the wolfe is shut up." †

In 1641, a few months after Laud's overthrow, the foreign churches for the fourth time published their Ecclesiastical Discipline. The two most important points in this latest revision were, first, the removal of the last vestiges of the parity of the ministers and elders, on which the Discipline of John à Lasco had so strongly insisted; and, secondly, the erasure of all references to the office of superintendent, the late troubles having rendered episcopal authority, or anything in the least resembling it, peculiarly offensive. In contrasting this fourth Discipline (which, having never been officially abolished, may even be said still to be in force) with its predecessors, Baron Schickler remarks : ‡

The first Discipline, that of à Lasco (1550), possesses the exuberant wealth of the first days of enthusiasm and faith; it is suited only to a Church strictly marked off and autonomous. The second, that of Des Gallars (1560), establishes the Calvinistic type with the circumspection necessary in the case of a Church placed under the supervision of a foreign ecclesiastical power. Applying to an assemblage of congregations that which was originally destined only to a single one, the third Discipline (1588, 1589) strengthens the authority of the consistory over the flock and, by the colloquies, hopes to furnish the churches a center of resistance against uprisings from within or oppression from without. It is to the preponderance of the action of these colloquies (presbyteries) that the fourth Discipline (1641) tends. It seeks to take advantage of a momentary eclipse of the Anglican Church, to free itself of the control of that Church and to secure to the working of the Presbyterian system its full independence and regularity.

* Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich*, vol. 1, p. 96.

† *Ibid.*, ubi supra.

‡ Vol. II, p. 76.

The establishment of the Commonwealth did not mark the permanent cessation of the annoyances to which the refugee churches were subjected. They recommenced with the accession of Charles II. This monarch returned from his exile with no kindly feelings toward the Presbyterians, whether of English or foreign extraction. It is true that during the years he spent in France he not infrequently attended service in the Huguenot churches of Caen and Rouen, in Normandy, and of La Rochelle. But he steadfastly refused to hear preaching in the great "temple" of Charenton, the place of worship of the Parisian Protestants. This refusal was due, perhaps, not so much to the fact that his Anglican advisers accused the Presbyterians of having contributed to bring about the death of his father, as to the circumstance that, had he attended the Huguenot church of Charenton, he would probably have seen Cromwell's envoys occupying the bench formerly set apart for the ambassadors of the King of England.* The new king soon had an opportunity to exhibit his disposition toward nonconformity, even among the foreign Protestants. There was a dispute between the authorities of the old Threadneedle Street Walloon Church and a congregation that had been gathered in Westminster. The former appealed to his majesty to close this new place of worship, the latter to recognize its continuance. Charles solved the difficulty by permitting as many of the Westminster congregation "as would conform to the Church of England" to take possession of a church which he placed at their disposal. This was the origin of the well-known Savoy Chapel, the first of the Conformist foreign churches, which subsequently became numerous.†

The famous Act of Uniformity (1662), so disastrous in the religious history of England, did not directly affect the refugee churches. If for no other reason, it was plainly impolitic to divert the stream of profitable immigration that brought to Great Britain skilled workmen, who might easily be compelled to take refuge in the more hospitable Netherlands. The bill itself contained a proviso that the penalties under the new law should not extend to the foreigners or aliens of the reformed churches authorized, or to be authorized, by the king's majesty,

* Maximilian de l'Angle, in Schickler, vol. II, p. 205.

† Schickler, vol. II, p. 218.

his heirs, and successors in England. Yet there was a wide door left open for annoyance; for the government had already, in a previous reign, shown a disposition to restrict the favor it might show the refugee churches to the first generation, and to compel the children of the foreigners to join the parish churches with all other native-born Englishmen.

Two difficulties seriously checked the flow of emigration from France to England in those dreary years in which the persecution under Louis XIV was assuming more and more severity, culminating in the formal revocation of the Edict of Nantes—years in which such Huguenots as could make their escape from the tyrant's dominions turned their eyes longingly to the Protestant land beyond the Channel. Those difficulties were the lack of any general naturalization law and the attitude of the established Church of England toward the churches of their brethren of the same reformed faith on the Continent.

Any one that will read the very entertaining Savile correspondence, published for the first time by the Camden Society,* will learn from the letters of the worthy brother of the Duke of Halifax how great was the damage sustained by England, through the supineness of Parliament or its actual opposition to the project of making it easy for a French Protestant refugee to obtain English citizenship. It was no fault of Henry Savile (nor indeed of Halifax) that the project miscarried. His letters were full of it. For example, he wrote to Halifax from Paris, June 5, 1679:†

The Archbishop of Paris and the Père de la Chaise do all they can to prevail with this king to make him revenge the quarrel of the English Catholics upon the French Protestants, who tremble for fear of some violent persecution and are ready to go into England in such vast numbers as would be a great advantage to the nation, if you would by easy naturalization make it in the least easy to them.

And he promoted the emigration he desired also by his friendly intercourse with the French Protestants. On one occasion he wrote:

I hear from England I shall be forced to keep a chaplain, which I never less needed, having never failed Charenton one Sunday since I came

* *Letters to and from Henry Savile, Esq., Envoy at Paris, and Vice Chamberlain to Charles II and James II.* London, 1858.

† *Savile Correspondence*, p. 93.

into France. How much more that is for the king's service you cannot imagine, unless you saw how kindly those poor people take so small a countenancing as mine is.*

And Halifax, though popularly accused (but certainly falsely accused†) of being an atheist, approved of his brother's course from motives of policy. "It hath ever been so much my principle," said he, referring to the encouragement of Huguenot emigration to England, "that I have often wondered at our neglecting a thing we ought to seek; and those that have not zeal enough to endeavor it for the preserving our religion might have wit enough to do it for the encreasing our trade." And he added: "You need not much fear the having a chaplain imposed upon you. . . . I approve your going to Charenton, and your countenancing the Protestants, which I think the principal work of an English minister in France."‡

Baron Schickler shows, perhaps more clearly than any previous writer, how much the High Church views that became rampant in the reign of Charles II interfered with the choice of England by fugitives from France as their future home. Even could they have obtained "easy naturalization," so as to be exempted from the disabilities and heavy taxes laid on aliens, there remained a prospect of enforced conformity, if not for themselves, for their children. For those fugitives that were ministers there was an additional impediment in the way of the reordination which had now come to be demanded. Early in the seventeenth century full recognition had been accorded to the orders of the reformed Churches:

In 1617 Bishop Morton refused to reordain a minister who had already been received into the ministry beyond the seas, declaring that he would not give reason for offense to the foreign Churches. Gilbert Primerose had been chaplain of the king and canon of Windsor without episcopal ordination. §

* *Savile Correspondence*, p. 94.

† Macaulay admits this, and asserts that, "though he sometimes gave scandal by the way in which he exerted his rare powers both of reasoning and ridicule on serious subjects, he seems to have been by no means unsusceptible of religious impressions." *History of England*, vol. I, p. 229.

‡ *Savile Correspondence*, p. 97. Halifax's customary rallyery often appears in his letters to his brother. Shortly after this he writes him: "In meantime my credit with the French Protestants I owe chiefly to you; your zeal being so notorious that it throweth luster upon all your poor relations. It is enough to be akin to a man that goeth twice a day to Charenton. Heaven reward you for giving such countenance to the Gospel!"

§ Schickler, vol. II, p. 249.

But now the English government and the English Church had taken an attitude that was nothing less than insulting to churches and theologians quite equal, if not, indeed, avowedly superior, to the English in learning and ability. As Baron Schickler remarks : *

The Reformed learned, not without painful astonishment, that not merely was there expected of them an entrance *en masse* into the ranks of the Church of England, but that the adhesion to its forms was judged insufficient so long as the clergyman did not submit to episcopal ordination. To exact admission to deacon's and priest's orders of a venerable minister expelled from the pulpit in which he had, for nearly a half-century, led souls to God, or of the learned theological professor driven out of the Académie in which he had prepared the future leaders of the Church, was to confound them, as Claude said, "as though they were simply laymen," with the candidates their disciples or pupils. It was to undertake to rob them of their pastoral character, received by the laying on of hands of their peers. It was in their eyes, at least, to assail the value and the honor of their past career.

The great orator and writer to whom reference has just been made, Jean Claude, no unequal contestant with Bossuet in the field of controversy, being forced to leave France at an hour's notice when the Edict of Revocation was signed by Louis XIV, declined to go to England, and chose rather to end his life in Holland. The refugee churches of England thus lost the honor of the presence with them of the greatest Protestant of his age, because of the attitude assumed by the English clergy. Yet Claude was not unfriendly to the Church of England, which he had freely characterized as "an elder sister" of the Churches of the Continent. But when his conciliatory words were printed and misinterpreted he did not hesitate to express strongly his belief that, by insisting upon reordination, the English were inflicting irreparable injury upon the Reformation and, therefore, upon themselves ; while, on the part of those who submitted to reordination, the concession was a dishonest and cowardly act, for which posterity would hold them responsible. † Jean Claude was not the only great Protestant preacher whom England thus lost the honor of welcoming. Pierre du Bose, perhaps the only pastor for whose magnificent abilities Louis XIV was betrayed into expressing an almost

* Schickler, vol. ii, pp. 323, 324.

† " Pour nos ministres c'est une lâcheté et une prévarication que la postérité leur reprochera." Jean Claude to Abram Tessereau, Feb. 2, 1684, in Schickler, vol. ii, p. 327.

unbounded admiration, was deterred from crossing the Channel from the same motives that influenced Claude.

We close our view of the refugee churches with the approach of the great Revolution that expelled the Stuarts and inaugurated an era of better things for English liberties. Baron Schickler's book closes at this point. We sincerely hope that he may carry out his purpose of giving to the world in another work the story of the foreign movement in the latter part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Meanwhile we congratulate him upon the great interest and value of his researches so far as published.

Henry M. Baird.

ART. VIII.—JEAN LAILLIER, THE FICKLE REFORMER
—A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE
FRENCH REFORMATION.

ULLMANN, in the Preface to his *Reformers before the Reformation*, says :

Is it possible that Luther and his confederates, or that Zwingli and his, or that the men whom we see taking the field for the pure evangelical doctrine on the banks of the Rhine downward to the Netherlands should have dropped as reformers from heaven or received their impulse and insight from a foreign land ? No, certainly. Even the law of historical continuity would require us to suppose corresponding intermediate links —laborers who prepared this particular soil.*

This is also the truth in regard to the beginning of the French Reformation. We generally speak of the Reformation in France in a slighting manner, for the reason that to-day France is not Protestant. We forget the fact that France, in its refugees, contributed much to the stability of England and America and gave Calvin and his system to the world. Many have studied the beginnings of this Reformation, and much interesting information has been collected regarding its period. Men who were bold enough to stand alone and differ from all their associates, and that, too, when toleration was not even a theory, inspire us with the spectacle of their zeal and their display of heroism in righting wrong.

Jean Laillier, or Lellier, as the name is sometimes printed, seems to be either a forgotten or a slighted reformer. He is mentioned by Bernard Picard in connection with Huss, Wyclif, Calvin, and other reformers.† Mr. Henry C. Lea is the only writer in the English language, as far as is known at the present writing, who makes any reference to him.‡ But the original source for what is known of Laillier is the *Register* of the University of Paris. This is copied almost entirely by Fleury in his *Histoire Ecclésiastique*.§

Jean Laillier was a priest of Paris, a graduate of the univer-

* Vol. i, p. xlii.

† *Histoire Générale des Cérémonies, Mœurs et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde*. 8 vols., folio. Paris, 1741. Vol. iii, p. 338.

‡ *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, vol. i, p. 294 ; vol. ii, p. 143.

§ Vol. xxiv, pp. 23, ff., Brussels, 1726. This, of course, does not appear in the English abridgment. See also Dupin, *Bibliothèque*, tom. xli, p. 149.

sity, and a licentiate in theology in the year 1484, the year following Luther's birth. In July, 1485, he presented ten radical propositions, some of which were aimed at the most vital doctrines of the Church:

I. "St. Peter received from Christ neither power over the apostles nor primacy."

II. "All those who compose the ecclesiastical hierarchy have received equal power from Jesus Christ, so that the priests are equal in power and jurisdiction in the government of the Church."

III. "The pope cannot remit all punishment by plenary indulgence, even though granted justly and with reason."

IV. "Abbots and priors do not give absolution in virtue of the keys, but by custom only. Therefore confession is not a divine ordinance."

V. "If you ask about the pope, the less said the better."

VI. "The simple priests are useless."

VII. "Those who confess to mendicant monks, even by the prescribed rule, are not absolved, but must confess the same to their priest."

VIII. "John XXIII did not have the power to enforce the decretal *vas electionis*." (This condemned Jean de Poilly.)

IX. "The decretals and decrees of the pope are simply mockeries."

X. "The Romish Church is not the chief of the other Churches."

On the last day of the same month he was cited by the Faculty of the Sorbonne to appear before them. He laid before them his ten propositions, with others. The new propositions were nine in number, and were each answered in turn by the Faculty.

I. "You must keep the commandments of God and the apostles; but as for the commandments of bishops, they are no more than straw. Such destroy the Church by their dreams."

The Faculty agreed that the first part of the proposition was correct, but declared the second part to be scandalous, schismatic, contrary to good morals, to evangelical and apostolical doctrine. Consequently, it must be publicly recanted.

II. "Some give praise to a saint, as if he were in the place from whence Lucifer fell, instead of which they are where

Lucifer is now. As long as such preachers are established the Church of God will never prosper."

The doctors declared this proposition to be false, injurious, seditious, speaking evil of the saints, favorable to a condemned error. It must be recanted.

III. "The rich saints are now canonized and the poor ones forgotten. Therefore I am not obliged to believe that there are saints. Even if the pope receives money or goes upon twenty scaffolds to canonize a saint I am not obliged to believe him such. If one does not believe it he is not thinking wrongly."

The Faculty pronounced this to be false, offending to pious ears, injurious to the apostolic see, and contrary to the piety of the faithful. The last part was heretical.

IV. "If a priest has been married and will come to me and confess I will not command him to do penance."

This was objected to as implying a wrong idea, that a priest could marry after taking holy orders.

V. "The priests of the Oriental Church do not sin if they marry. I think we would not if we did."

To this it was replied that it was false that the priests of the Oriental Church married. This profession of faith made the author guilty of error; and if he held to it with stubbornness he was a heretic.

VI. "For four hundred years it has been forbidden the priests to marry. It may have been by a pope or a dwarf pope [butterfly]. I do not know that he could prevent it."

The professors denied the assertion that priests were allowed to marry previous to the time indicated, and pronounced the last part of the proposition a mockery, derogatory to the apostolic see and the authority of a general council. They further declared that it must be recanted.

VII. "I will give two pieces of silver to anyone who will find for me a passage of Scripture which commands to fast in Lent."

To this it was objected that we are not only to obey the Scripture, but other authority, and that the author of the proposition was heretical on this point. As to the assertion of there being no obligation to fast in Lent, the proposition was false, derogatory to the custom and to good morals, and contrary to the determination of saints.

VIII. "Since the time of St. Silvester the Roman Church is no more the Church of Jesus Christ, but the Church of Cæsar and of money."

This proposition was declared to be injurious to the Church and to the apostolic see, blasphemous, heretical, and long ago condemned.

IX. "One is no more obliged to believe in the legends of the saints than in the chronicles of the kings of France."

The Faculty declared this to be false, offending to pious ears, derogatory to the authority of the Church, and heretical if interpreted universally. This judgment was rendered in a general assembly of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, at the Church of the Mathurins on the fifth day of June, in the year 1486.

Soon after Laillier applied to the university for his degree of doctor. At this time the theological faculty brought forward a new proposition, extracted from former writings of Laillier. This proposition stated that a simple priest could consecrate the holy oil and could ordain as well as the pope or bishop. Further, all priests were equal in power and jurisdiction. St. Thomas had as much authority among the Indians as St. Peter among the Romans. It was decided that this must be publicly recanted, and also that Laillier could not have his degree.

Nothing daunted, he immediately appealed to Parliament. By them the case was sent back to Louis, Bishop of Paris, for investigation. This the bishop began in connection with Jean Cossart, the inquisitor, and four doctors selected by the theological faculty. Laillier presented four propositions reaffirming his position on the following points:

1. The uselessness of fasting in Lent.
2. The limitation of the authority and power of the Church (quoting Gerson and D'Ailly in support of his position).
3. The denial of the Romish position concerning the history of celibacy.
4. He also stated that Gerson, in his treatise, *Of the Spiritual Life of the Soul*, had presented propositions more radical than his own.

The theological faculty immediately condemned these propositions. They especially denied the statements respecting Gerson. The bishop and inquisitor agreed to proceed separately.

While these investigations were going on the Faculty was not idle. They presented the case to Arnoul Alouf, "Promoter of the Officialty" of Paris. They informed him that the propositions of Laillier had been preached in several places to the scandal of the faithful, and that they had already been condemned by the Faculty of Theology as scandalous, schismatic, damaging to the doctrine of the Church, aiming at rebellion against superiors, blasphematory against the saints who had been canonized by the pope and the apostolic see, suspected of heresy, pernicious, rash, presumptuous, and contrary to good manners. Alouf ordered Laillier to retract publicly after this manner :

"I, Jean Laillier, priest, master of arts, licentiate in theology—noted, suspected, and accused of having published and preached to the people of Paris several scandalous propositions, erroneous, heretical—for my justification, and to make satisfaction to the people who might have been scandalized by it, promise and swear by the holy orders that I do not believe what I have said. I hereby revoke the propositions. I have abjured them, and do now abjure them, without wishing to be obstinate or defend them. I reduce myself to the very truth." Then followed a recantation of each proposition in detail. The recantation took place June 23, 1486, at the command of Alouf and at the added request of the bishop.

The inquisitor had communicated the facts he had gathered to the bishop; but the bishop kept his own counsel and, without consulting the inquisitor, summarily judged the process. After recantation he relieved Laillier of the sentence of excommunication, reestablished him in all his rights, gave him the right to be promoted to other degrees, and also abolished all note of infamy. Laillier applied several times for his degree, but the Faculty persistently refused him. The bishop, after having given him the right to the doctorate, now tried to compel the Faculty to grant it. November 6 the Faculty made an appeal to the general public and to Pope Innocent VIII. He immediately issued two bulls. The first was to Jean Cossart, the inquisitor, in which he forbade Laillier the right of preaching, and submitted the affair for further action to the inquisitor, to the Bishop of Sens, and the Bishop of Meaux. The second bull was addressed to the Faculty, praising their zeal, approving

their course of action, and forbidding them to confer the degree. This bull also annulled the judgment of the Bishop of Paris. These bulls were issued respectively December 6 and 9, 1486. The pope was obeyed as far as not granting the doctorate was concerned.

The *Register* gives no further light on the after life of Laillier. Weak and fickle as he proved to be, still his life was not in vain; for it stimulated thought, and that, too, in the very direction that was taken afterward by the Reformation, namely:

1. The denial of early historical celibacy;
2. The denial of the power of the priest and a hint at the priesthood of all believers;
3. The setting forth of the foolishness of the worship of saints;
4. The denial of papal authority;
5. The denial of the primacy of St. Peter in authority and jurisdiction;
6. The denial of the power to grant indulgences.

Jean Laillier is the connecting link between Gerson and D'Ailly of the Council of Constance, the men who there attempted the internal reformation of the Church, and Bricconnet and Le Fèvre, the immediate precursors of Calvin.

J. G. Ayres.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

ON July 31 there died in Brooklyn John W. Carr, who for twenty-five years was a compositor in the Methodist Book Concern. His name is unknown to the readers of the *Review*; yet he made up its pages for nearly a fourth of a century, his service in this capacity extending back to 1872, in the editorship of Dr. Whedon. The son of a soldier in the British army who became regimental school-master and, it is said, a Wesleyan exhorter, he was born at Gibraltar, removed to the West Indies, and later to the United States. The *Review* acknowledges its indebtedness to this faithful servant, to whose skillful and conscientious labor much of its typographical excellence has been due.

AN examination of our subscription list discovers that the *Review* has a more varied constituency than most persons would suppose. A great variety of tastes must be considered and served. It is inevitable that there will be many different opinions as to what subjects shall have chief prominence in our pages. Some would have the *Review* more exclusively philosophical, theological, and biblical, dealing with the eternal themes. Some call for more of the purely literary. Some desire scientific and social treatises. Some ask larger space for discussion of unsettled questions touching Church polity, method, and action. One valued and progressive correspondent sends us his opinion as follows: "Space should be given to topics of perennial importance, as well as to those of temporary interest; and it seems to me the former should have the larger degree of attention. The *Review* is not intended to compete with the weeklies or even the monthlies in touching the popular pulse or catering to the taste of the hour." Editorial inclinations also differ. Considerable contrast appears in the tables of contents under Dr. Whedon and Dr. Mendenhall. It is the belief of the present editor that the various tastes are entitled to a fair division of space among the different classes of topics. Many subjects born in the past or relating thereto are of unexhausted interest. History is not entirely dead and buried from human thought. "The pro-

phetic writings" still repay study, and are matter of keen contemporary debate. The New Testament is already an old book, but will be for thinkers and writers a fresh and living theme a thousand years hence.

DR. JAMES STRONG.

AGAINST the name of one of the most eminent workmen of the Church we must now place the inevitable asterisk. Dr. Strong was a lifelong toiler. His recent attacks of illness he did not interpret as warnings to cease from labor. Although beyond the seventy-first milestone of the journey, he had laid broad plans that needed a full quarter of a century for their completion. Some of his masterpieces he had reserved for the last. Like Titian, whom a visitor found with pencil in hand at eighty-eight, he knew no idle old age. Sunset found him at his work, and when the curfew rang he had earned his honored rest.

I. He attained high prominence in the field of biblical scholarship. Particularly will he live in the history of American Methodism as a skilled interpreter of the Old Testament Scriptures. He was not self-made. Fortunately the Wesleyan University, mother of bishops and scholars, had for ten years opened its doors to the choice youth of the Church when he decided upon a collegiate course. Entering this now venerable institution as a junior, he carried off its highest honors in 1844. The great Olin was then president at beautiful Middletown, and in the exercise of his majestic influence upon the plastic youth of the time he left an indelible impression, as later correspondence shows, on the future theologian. With this impulse toward the best in scholarship, the graduate went forth to such immediate success that his university but twelve short years after his graduation conferred upon him—layman though he was and not yet thirty-four—the honorary degree of S.T.D.

It is an interesting fact that Dr. Strong did not begin the study of Hebrew, in which he afterward reached such conspicuousness among American scholars, until he had left the halls of Wesleyan. Within the first few years after his graduation—for he published, in 1857, his *Epitome of the Hebrew Grammar*—he undertook the mastery of the Hebraic tongue, under the direction of a Jewish scholar who gave him private instruction. Perhaps neither teacher nor scholar dreamed of the results that would follow. There is at least in the circumstance an encouragement to those who think that the possibilities of learning necessarily turn on the

privilege of an academic course. The incident points the lesson that a man who owns a text-book and a lexicon may make his university anywhere!

The selection of Dr. Strong as one of the translators of the works on Daniel and Esther, in Lange's great series of biblical commentaries, was a deserved tribute to his scholarship. But perhaps the work which brought him into the closest relationship with the American Church at large, and gave him as well conspicuousness before the Church abroad, was his service as one of the American revisers of the Old Testament. From 1871 to 1881 those fifteen gifted scholars compared the jot and the tittle of the Hebrew text. They included men of such rare attainments as Drs. Thomas J. Conant and Talbot W. Chambers, Professors Tayler Lewis, George E. Day, and William H. Green—in the last of whom he found a kindred spirit and an enduring friend. Dr. Strong was the sole representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the distinguished body. To the acquisitions of this picked company of Hebraists he brought many a choice treasure from his accumulated store. Reverently conservative, yet rightly progressive in his attitude toward the Holy Scriptures, the work of the revision was safe in such hands as his. From his own pen we have a valuable account of some of the methods followed and results reached by the revisers, in an article published in the *Review* of January, 1886. To Dr. Strong's service as a reviser and to his long life of laborious research the Church has already paid its tributes. Says an eminent authority, in recognition of his scholarship, "In his death biblical and theological learning has lost one of its most illustrious representatives."

II. He sat as a king in the professor's chair. Like Arnold, of Rugby, and Mark Hopkins, at Williamstown, he seemed ordained to teach. As an instructor in the Troy Conference Academy, and later as professor of biblical literature in the Troy University, and its acting president, he was only preparing himself for that greater service in ministerial education which has made his name revered in American Methodism. The founders of the Drew Theological Seminary chose better than they knew in electing him to the chair of exegetical theology. Entering upon his work in 1868, he was for a quarter of a century most closely identified with the growing fortunes of the new institution, and contributed by his masterful scholarship to its increasing fame. For the last year, though retired from the active professorship, he was still a lecturer at the Seminary; so that not a single student has ever

graduated from the institution without his instruction and his signature upon the diploma. He saw a generation of Christian ministers pass through his class room. To put one's impress upon such teachers of the people, even in the most casual way, is to give great hostages to the fortunes of the Church. But to instruct them in so vital a branch as exegetical theology, to lead their early judgments and shape their nascent thinking upon the meaning of the Old Testament Scriptures, is to bear upon the shoulders one of the most tremendous burdens that may fall to the lot of mortal.

A glimpse at the workman and his work is kindly given us by Dr. H. A. Buttz, the honored president of Drew Seminary, after years of personal association with him. He writes: "In the death of Dr. Strong the professor's chair has lost one who united those qualities calculated to insure the highest success. Even in business life the passion for learning and authorship was not suppressed, and when, in 1868, he came to Drew Theological Seminary, as professor of exegetical theology, he brought with him those rare qualities of head and heart which distinguished him during his quarter of a century of service. At his death he was professor emeritus, but his interest and enthusiasm were undiminished. His great success as a professor was largely due to his natural adaptation for giving instruction, his vast learning and accurate scholarship, and his enthusiasm in his work. He was alive in his class, and all felt the inspiration of his presence. He knew so much more than the lesson he was teaching that his students felt the hand of a master upon them. Another element of his success was his fidelity, which never subordinated his class work to his authorship. His students will hold him in affectionate remembrance as a personal friend, and as 'a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.' "

His class-room methods and his devotion to the Scriptures will now be matters of tender reminiscence to his students scattered throughout America, and also in Italy, China, Japan, and India. One of them, Dr. E. S. Tipple, of New York, who has of late been his pastor at Grace Church, pays him the following reverent tribute: "Dr. Strong impressed his students immediately as a man of prodigious learning. Without attempt at pretense on his part they felt that he knew everything. His resources were boundless. His knowledge of facts was marvelous. He seemed also to us all as a man of vision, so constantly was he thinking upon

eternal things. He had the appearance and manner of a prophet, and we always thought of him as one with Elijah and Daniel, but with a clearer knowledge of the Christ. His loyalty to the truth of the Scriptures was every day apparent. This jealousy for God's word was a conspicuous characteristic of his teaching. His intense manner, his flashing eye, the alertness of every muscle of his body, these all revealed the 'defender of the faith.' To him the Bible was a holy temple of truth, and he stood at the portal with drawn sword to smite with death any who presumed to attempt to cross its threshold with sandaled feet. A thousand men the world over love the book with more reverent affection because they were taught by him, and love him with intensest love, in part because he so loved the Bible."

His funeral was at Round Lake, where a school of the prophets had met to hear his summer lectures on the Revelation; it might have been held in almost any place, for his friends and students are everywhere.

III. He was one of the book-writers of the Church. What he learned in the cloister from Greek manuscript or Hebrew text he gladly published to the world. Like the great Clarke, he made commentaries; like Wesley, he edited practical helps; like Watson, he wrote on questions of systematic theology. In his versatility—and he was also an expert manual workman—no subject within the circle of doctrinal or textual discussion was unattractive to his pen. As early as 1852 his *Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels* was issued—a household book to the generation of the Methodist ministry now in their full manhood prime. The "Bibliography" of the *Alumni Record* of Wesleyan University, published in 1883, devotes about three octavo pages to the enumeration of his writings, and since then he has added greatly to the list. Through twelve crowded volumes of the *Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*—seven volumes being issued by him in sole editorship after the death of Dr. McClintock—we wander in amazement at his prodigious industry. The present year has seen the long-expected publication of his colossal *Concordance*, elsewhere noticed in these pages, which is the most majestic volume of its kind in the history of the Church of Christ. For a short year living as professor emeritus in New York, the city of his birth, the passion for making books has rendered his face a familiar sight among the compositors of our publishing house. A year ago he issued the first of an exegetical series on the Old Testament Scriptures, to be known as "The Students' Com-

mentary," the particular volume published being *A Complete Hermeneutical Manual on the Book of Ecclesiastes*. With its beautiful Hebrew text, printed from a font of type purchased especially for the work, with its metrical rendering, metaphrase, exposition, and other ingenious features too many to tell, it is a marvel of the commentator's skill. When Dr. Strong died there was passing through the press a similar commentary on the Psalms, which will be published in its partly finished form. But what scholar will write the rest of the series? As poetry is forever poorer by the unwritten verses of Keats, and romance by the unfinished words of the great novelist who went away in the midst of his *Mystery of Edwin Drood*, so Christian literature has lost immeasurably in the non-completion of these projected manuals of hermeneutics.

Dr. Strong wrote his first words for the *Methodist Review* in 1850, before many of our present readers had been rocked in their cradles. His theme was, "Apparent Discrepancies in the Evangelists' Account of Christ's Appearance to Mary Magdalene after his Resurrection." His final article was in March, 1893, when he discussed "The Songs of the Church" like a master in hymnology. Between 1850 and 1893 he enriched the *Review* with some twenty-two articles and ten shorter notes. His subjects include "The Baptismal Formula," Matt. xxviii, 19, 20, "The Genealogies of Christ," "Table of Biblical Chronology," "Affinity of the Hebrew and Greek Languages," "Egyptian Chronology," "Documentary Origin of Genesis," and more too varied to note. Until he died his pen was never still. Whipple said of Gray, who is known chiefly by his "Elegy," that no man ever went down to immortality with a smaller volume under his arm. It is not so with Professor Strong. Bearing his manuals on the Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldee text, a Harmony of the Greek New Testament, his essays on *Irenics*, an elaborate treatise on the Jewish tabernacle in the desert, pamphlets on Esther, Daniel, Solomon's Song, and Habakkuk, a study of Jewish life in the first century—and time would fail to complete the list—he will walk down the years as the most prolific author in the history of American Methodism for a round century.

He was a frequent visitor in the office of the *Review*. His cheery greeting was like the singing of birds over the hills. We shall be lonely for his sunny face, his eminent counsel, his noble personality. Through the door that swings into the eternal world he has passed from human sight. His views upon the

intermediate state were definite and well known. But a little before his departure we listened, in an office conversation, while in seer-like words he explained that belief as to the immediate experience of the departed which is set forth in his *Doctrine of a Future Life*. The condition of the dead, in his estimate, is analogous to the dream state of mortals, so far as a similitude may be used. Each living man is deciding the quality of his future dreams. When death has come "the introversion is complete, the circle is hermetically sealed, and existence is pivoted upon self." At the end of the conversation he said with pathos that he would soon know the mystery. He knows it now.

LABOR DISTURBANCES.

OUR readers are presumed to be familiar with the coal strike and railway strike of May, June, and July. Some features of these events demand the attention of all thoughtful persons. The two strikes were unlike in this, that the coal miner revolted on questions of wages, while the railway unionist struck out of sympathy with striking carbuilders. The first had a grievance of his own; the second loudly declared that he had no grievance whatever. Both were alike in that they swiftly passed to the stage of violence, which was repressed by military force. In the earlier strike the mobs arrested interstate commerce, at least in Ohio and West Virginia; but the federal troops did not appear on the scene. In the second, at Chicago, the national troops were the first in the field, though Illinois has a large, efficient, and patriotic militia. There is no doubt at this time that vigorous efforts by governors, mayors, and sheriffs might have prevented nearly all the bloodshed and incendiarisms of both conflicts. There were three days during which the mayor of Chicago could have suppressed the mob with the clubs of his policemen. Everywhere the rioting was allowed to proceed to great lengths by official politicians keenly alive to the coming elections. A heavy tax in money and in blood, in shame and humiliation, was inflicted by the idleness of the hands chosen to maintain peace and security.

The largest in scenic value of these tumults was the Chicago demonstration of the power of a mob. There the railroads are peculiarly exposed to pillage. Their tracks wind in and out through the quarters inhabited by the *dejecta* of anarchy, whose church is a saloon, whose speech is as variegated as the coat of Joseph. The strikers inflicted, it is supposed, but a small part of the

damage. A possible mob of perhaps forty thousand men, women, and children, whose names Americans cannot pronounce, is one of the features of the marvelous metropolis of our vast midland. An ambitious organizer of labor, with a dream of uniting all workmen and thus controlling all commerce and production, having created a new "railway union" and being able to "call out" perhaps fifteen thousand men, began an industrial revolution with the mighty mob at his back. He had no sooner called out his men than the mob began its work of destruction; but it slowly retreated to its lairs before six thousand soldiers and nearly as many armed marshals and policemen. The federal troops were first in the field, because the mayor of Chicago neglected for days to lay a heavy hand on the disorderly elements to whom he owes his elevation to office. The same classes had made Mr. Altgeld governor of Illinois; and he signalized the outbreak of anarchy by sending to President Cleveland two long protests against the presence of national soldiers in Chicago. These protests, happily, found no support except from strikers, labor demagogues, socialists, and other enemies of our constitutional system of liberty regulated by law.

The right to abandon the service of a corporation or an individual is, we believe, nowhere denied. It is a conceded civil right—conceded because the enforcement of a contract to labor would trench upon liberty. Only a money penalty could be exacted with safety; and for obvious reasons workmen are not pursued with such a penalty. The right to cease from labor for foolish reasons is not denied. In the adjustment of differences between labor and capital the law, the courts, and public opinion agree to give labor a right which they deny to capital—the right to inflict damage by breaking a contract for no good reason. Therefore the reasons which the coal and railroad strikers gave for leaving the service of their employers are not matters of grave concern except as they were used to justify violence. The distinction has been ignored in the daily press, but it is too important to be forgotten here. Another right claimed by the strikers was the right to prevent the transportation of cars loaded with coal and Pullman sleeping cars. The strikers had no right to make such demands, and the railways had no right to grant them—neither legal nor moral right. The strikers, indeed, made no effort to enforce a legal right in the courts; a moral right they claimed and tried to enforce by the machinery of public opinion. To compel the public to decree in its favor the

striking force attempted to alarm, embarrass, and even starve the public. This was attempted by many specific acts of violence, every one of which was an act of lawbreaking, and by threats such as "Not a wheel shall turn, not a unionist shall work, unless we get what we ask." In practice "not a unionist shall work" means also that no one should be permitted to work in his place. The avowal of a purpose to compel the public by starvation, if necessary, to surrender to violence has been made on other occasions, but it has never been proclaimed so boldly as by Mr. Debs in Chicago; and it found a considerable public ready to be starved, if need were, for the sake of a "revolution." This word was freely used. From John Most, professional anarchist, up through all the variegated ranks of socialists to a United States senator from Kansas, the thing, if not the word "revolution," was fondled with hopeful enthusiasm. With singular unanimity all these prophets of a new order, including some featherheaded labor leaders and nearly every man with a panacea for poverty, strenuously condemned the interference of federal troops. "Force," they cried, "never settled anything." And all the while they were hoping that the force of the mob would produce a revolution. Such splendid hypocrisy is commended to the historian of these times. He will hardly find a better proof of the insanity of many persons who fancy they are reformers. It is greatly to be desired that the well-meaning persons who have espoused their "reforms" may take note of the attitude of their leaders in the presence of pillaging and murdering mobs. The "reform" leaders tell us that these tumults should open our eyes. They do open our eyes to the necessity of defending life and liberty by military force.

The contention that our constitutional system is defective is not justified by a candid view of the facts. We have had no proof that the courts, when appealed to, have failed to maintain rights of contract. The Chicago incident has shown the effectiveness of the executive power in repressing violence. The protection afforded by the nation is even more effective than it had been supposed to be. Its power to take the place of a weak mayor or governor was to most of our people a grateful surprise. The complaint that our government does not daily and minutely regulate the relations of employer and employed is altogether unreasonable. Our liberty is the liberty of contract, and human experience has not devised any other system of liberty. Between the system of contract and that of slavery which we abolished

a generation ago there is no other possibility. The socialistic scheme proper is in principle the slavery system over again. It is alluring in promise to many because they hope to become masters, to many more because they know nothing about the thing they desire. A slave had the things which are craved by many in our generation; his physical wants were provided for without thought on his part. He could not starve or be houseless. But the present-day complainant wants both that security and liberty. No human writ can find a means of securing the advantages of both systems.

The anxiety of our people to make an end of the waste and peril of strikes may lead to dangerous experiments. It is pretty clear that the prompt enforcement of law would have ended all the waste and peril at the very beginning. Those who desire safety and prosperity need only to ask that life and property be protected by the strict enforcement of existing laws. Those who ask for new forms of protection will confess that they distrust, not the laws, but the men whom we elect to enforce them; not the courts, but the executive agents of the people. They saw a president fail in 1860-1861. They have seen mayors fail every year, notably in 1877 and 1894. And this year they have seen more than one governor fail. If by some device complaining workmen could be always righted or silenced there would be no strikes for politicians in office to play with to the damage of the people. There is a growing belief that "compulsory arbitration" can be so adjusted as to yield this desirable result. Now, all the pleasant features of an untried scheme are easily seen; the trial is apt to disclose another set of features. We ought, in this case, to get rid of the delusion that "compulsory arbitration" is any kind of arbitration. The thing meant is regulation of labor contracts by the State. This regulation must be in restraint of liberty, and yet it may be wise; though it is not wise to deceive ourselves respecting the nature of the proceeding. The device in effect creates a new kind of courts to settle these disputes. The labor side is left very much in shadow. Only one party, the employer, can be legally bound to obey the edicts of these new courts. They will exist, therefore, to limit the employer's rights of contract. It may be doubted that the Constitution of the United States could be so interpreted as to permit this invasion of the liberty of the employer; and, after all, the main question would recur, Can we enforce the laws? It is not to be expected that the human material of mobs will be removed

from the city or the mine by putting employers under regulation. And is it to be expected that demagogues will cease to be chosen to fill executive offices? Would not workmen, revolting from a decision of one of these new courts, become the nucleus of a mob to be dispersed by force? The spirit of lawlessness despises all authority, and it has never been tamed and controlled by anything short of armed force.

The recognition of the duty of the national authority to protect mail trains and all trains crossing State lines—and sidings in stockyards—may suggest the fitness of some national regulation of employment on these railways. They are quasi public enterprises. But such regulation ought not to be hastily undertaken or handed over to the political class in American society. The first problem is to find some fit instrument for so delicate and difficult a task.

Perhaps the favorite theory of the time is the regulative value of public opinion. "If public opinion condemns a revolt it must fail." The precise defect of this maxim is that public opinion is even slower than a Governor Altgeld. All the mischief is done by the temporizing of executives and the sympathy of the public. The wisest reform may be found, after all, in educating public opinion up to the point of forbidding a striker to (1) hinder or injure the "scab," (2) damage or delay the business he has abandoned, (3) profess and maintain that he is still in a service out of which he has voluntarily taken himself. All the evils of strikes such as this year has witnessed were developed into mob violence through the weakness of public opinion on these three vital points. A canvass of the people would have found them hesitating and divided, the more part hoping that a little of outrage would give workmen "their rights," these rights being whatever may be claimed for strikers by their wildest and most reckless leaders. It is only when conflagrations and assassinations begin that a large part of the public awakens to the knowledge that a labor demagogue may ask for wrongs and call them rights—as a person called Debs undoubtedly did in Chicago. It has not escaped the notice of the philosopher that the college student and the workman have been clothed by public opinion with some "rights" which are unhesitatingly denied to all other citizens of the United States.

The time-consecrated method of adjusting disputes which assume to claim public adjustment is to send them to a jury of twelve men of the vicinage. We are asked in every time of strike

to do by means of public opinion the work of a jury. Our people are slow to learn that this cannot succeed. The public does not and cannot know, intimately enough for a just judgment, the facts in a dispute between Mr. Pullman and his workmen. Nor have the people any right to demand that Mr. Pullman shall submit his case to any kind of inquiry except that of the courts of the land. The plea that by doing so he could save us from mob violence is the most insulting and outrageous slap in the face this great American people have suffered in thirty years. Forsooth, we owe our security of life and goods to the grace of an employer of labor. If he chooses to stand firm upon his legal rights strikers have the right to obstruct, pillage, burn, and kill. Mr. Pullman is not of so much importance. Our rights to send our letters and our goods over highways, to travel in security, to have our lives and effects protected by the nation cannot be taken away by the refusal of any John Smith to arbitrate something with somebody else. It is hard to endure the shame heaped upon us by such absurdities. It is not less humiliating to know that there were delegates to the recent Christian Endeavor Convention who were so thoughtless or so unpatriotic as to consent to travel to Cleveland under the protection of Striker Debs. Happily for us, some delegates refused to travel in the United States on a brigand's pass, as if they were living under the conditions prevailing a century ago in southern Italy.

There is more than enough sympathy for workmen; there is far too little for a large body of men, women, and children whose living comes from small investments, hardly earned and religiously saved. These investments were in peril before the recent wanton strikes. A large number of stock companies are in the hands of receivers, and some do not even pay interest on their loans. There is quite as much distress, probably, among refined people, whose lives are one long service of humanity, as there is among workmen. The times are hard for multitudes in both sections of our population. The violence which has disgraced the nation has increased, indefinitely increased, this distress. Misdirected sympathy has some share in the causing of these tumults; and since they have failed to help the workmen, and, on the contrary, have increased the number of workmen to be pitied and helped, it would seem to be wise to exercise more discrimination in selecting the objects of our compassion and to exclude from it all strikers who confess that they have no grievances. Perhaps we may reasonably add to this class those workmen who strike first and

ask for arbitration afterward. It is conceivable that an employer may be in the right; the violence of the striker raises at least a suspicion that *he* is in the wrong.

PFLEIDERER AT EDINBURGH.

It is indicative of the interest laymen take in theology that at different times in Great Britain three men, two of them merchants and one a lawyer, have left money with similar intent—to provide essays or lectures for the elucidation and substantiation of the doctrines of natural theology or the free discussion of disputed theological questions. In 1784 John Burnett, an Aberdeen merchant, established by his will a prize fund, which has recently been legally transferred to the support of a lectureship for illustrating natural theology from studies scientific, historic, or archæological. His purpose is indicated in the clear directions given in his will, that prizes be offered for the best treatises on “the evidence that there is a Being, all-powerful, wise, and good, by whom everything exists; and particularly to obviate difficulties regarding the wisdom and goodness of the Deity; and this independent of written revelation and of the revelation of the Lord Jesus; and from the whole to point out the inferences most necessary and useful to mankind.”

In 1849 Robert Hibbert, a West India merchant, bequeathed money to provide for the impartial discussion of unsettled problems of theology, without regard to the teachings or interests of any particular Church or form of faith. The intention of the founder has been so liberally, if not loosely, construed that such men as Renan, the Frenchman, Kuenen, the Dutchman, and Pfeleiderer, the German, have been among the chosen lecturers.

In 1887 Lord Gifford, a lawyer raised to the bench, left a large sum to Scottish universities—to the University of Edinburgh, £25,000; to Glasgow and Aberdeen, each £20,000; and to St. Andrew's, £15,000—for the endowment of lectures in natural theology, free from dogmatic tests and restrictions. Among the lecturers have been Max Müller, the philologist; E. B. Tylor, the anthropologist, author of *Primitive Culture* and other works upon the early history of mankind; Andrew Lang, the brilliant and versatile *littérateur*, an authority in mythology and folklore; James Hutchinson Stirling, the distinguished Scotch philosopher, of much erudition and genius, whose lectures were published under the title *Philosophy and Theology*; last year Professor

Edward Caird, the new Master of Balliol; and this year Dr. Otto Pfeiderer, the well-known professor of theology in the University of Berlin, who delivered at the University of Edinburgh, in February last, a double course of twenty lectures, now published in two volumes, entitled *Philosophy and Development of Religion*.

Until now the Gifford lectures have run their course at the four universities under considerable criticism, but without noteworthy sensation or commotion. The visit of the Berlin professor, however, occasioned no small disturbance, the reason being that Pfeiderer used the Gifford platform to attack the Bible, discredit the historicity of the gospels, and assail the foundations of Christianity. It is plain that some of the Scottish theologians felt that the lectures had created something of a crisis. There was danger that the faith of the young and the unlearned be unsettled. The Christian scholars of Scotland, who are set for the defense of the Gospel, could not, by their silence, leave anyone to suppose that no answer could be made to the sweeping and destructive theories of the German theologian. The emergency was immediately met. Pfeiderer's lectures having ended on February 27, the course which was extemporized to contradict and confute him opened on March 5. The antidote was sent as quickly as possible after the venom which the fangs of the infidel serpent had injected into the veins of intellectual Scotland.

The first man ready to reply to the challenging rationalist was Dr. Robert Rainy, principal and professor of church history in New College, Edinburgh, author of *The Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine*, a man of great natural ability who seldom fully puts it forth, but just the man to meet with immense information and strong intellect a real emergency by which he was thoroughly aroused. He presented the precise nature, as well as the incalculable importance, of the issues at stake, and the deadly character of this assault against the evangelical faith if it could succeed. After him, on the 8th of March, came Dr. James Orr, professor of church history in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh, author of *The Christian View of God and the World as Centering in the Incarnation*, who plainly showed Pfeiderer's views to be inharmonious and self-contradictory, that his superstructure cannot be built on his foundations, and that his conclusions are no way warranted by the assumptions, presuppositions, and perversions of fact which he uses as premises. This impromptu course, delivered by competent scholars, in popular style, and for immediate effect, was closed on March 13 by

Dr. Marcus Dods, professor of exegetical theology in New College, author of *The Book of Genesis* and *The Post-Exilian Prophets—Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, who found it exactly in the line of his specialty to sustain the trustworthiness of the gospels against destructive German criticism, which he did with the manner of an expert familiar with the ground, master of his weapons and an easy match for his antagonist.

In all such reasonings as legitimately belong to the Burnett, Hibbert, and Gifford lectures we unfeignedly and unreservedly rejoice, for natural theology furnishes the basement and buttress of a fuller revelation. A supernatural Christianity is the proper crown, the natural and necessary superstructure, which alone completes into symmetrical development the intimations of natural religion, rearing on the primitive foundations laid in nature and human nature the only structure in which the soul of man can find in a reasonable way sufficient and satisfying shelter. The men who are beveling, tonguing, and grooving the granite blocks of natural theology are, wittingly or unwittingly, the servants of Jesus Christ, mortising together the solid and indestructible base on which rests that pyramid of supernaturally revealed truth of which the doctrine of a crucified, risen, ascended, and ever-living Lord, Saviour of men and King of kings, is the heaven-piercing apex.

But the delivery at Edinburgh of such utterances as Pfeiderer's is a gross impropriety, an atrocious offense against sacred interests, implying malfeasance and misdemeanor on the part of somebody. For one thing, what could be more preposterous, idiotic, suicidal than for a Christian university to accept or retain a lectureship the terms of which may be and were so construed as to make it a man-of-war for bombarding the citadel of the Christian faith? It is akin to what would be the folly of a nation which should import anarchists at a premium to plot assassinations, the overthrow of government, and the disorganization of society. In spite of the immeasurable difference between the two men in knowledge, intelligence, and general decency, the inviting of Pfeiderer to Edinburgh is like selecting a certain notorious and blatant infidel lecturer as orator of the day for a Young Men's Christian Association convention; for the words which the thrifty professional blasphemer wrote last July to a citizen of Saratoga express Pfeiderer's central doctrine: "The supernatural has lost its power. We must come back to the natural." For another thing, probability warrants the presumption that

such a use of the Gifford lectureship as the Berlin theologian has made is in violation of the intention of the founder, an unlawful misuse and immoral perversion of the fund; for there is little room to doubt that Lord Gifford's purpose was friendly to Christianity. To allow such abuse is a crime similar to permitting the faculty of a theological school to teach doctrines fundamentally opposed to and destructive of the faith which those who established, endowed, and chartered the institution intended to promote. For still another thing, it is glaringly unfair to use the lecture platform of an essentially Christian university for the overthrow of Christian doctrine when, by the specific terms of the bequest that sustains the lectureship, limiting its discussions to the realm of natural theology, no Gifford lecturer can use that platform for defensive statement on the side of Christianity.

It cannot be pleaded in extenuation of the fault of those who gave him his opportunity that Pfeiderer himself or his views were unknown at Edinburgh. He visited England and Scotland thirty years ago. His place among the schools of religious thought in Germany has long been known by biblical scholars everywhere. His opinions were all abroad in his published works. He had delivered the Hibbert lectures in 1885 on *The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity*. No theologian in Germany was more widely known. The constituted guardians of Lord Gifford's trust, the *senatus* which selects the lecturers, are under moral obligation, if not explicit legal bonds, to prevent a similar misuse of the fund hereafter. The religious public of Scotland have a right to demand that the repetition of such a subtle, virulent, and scandalous attack under the *ægis* of the university be made impossible.

Both Pfeiderer's lectures and the replies of the Edinburgh professors being now in the hands of the public in published form, anyone may learn for himself the nature of the latest deliverance of systematic philosophic attack upon Christianity, as well as the pertinency and force of the brief but comprehensive defense made offhand by the three Scotch theologians. It is no wonder that men of learning, as familiar with Christian facts, records, and doctrines as the Berlin professor, rose indignantly to protest against his claim that the Incarnation must be disbelieved for the simple reason that it is inconsistent with his understanding of history or because it would upset his entire scheme of interpretation; against his assertion that all marvelous incidents related of Jesus in the gospel histories are pure inventions, added at a

late day ; against his statement that Paul believed only in the spiritual, and not in the bodily, resurrection of Jesus ; against his easily disproved declaration that Baur's theory of the late origin (A. D. 170) of the fourth Gospel has been confirmed by all subsequent investigations ; against his groundless supposition that a speculative system denying all supernatural revelation can yet appropriate the ethics, retain the hopes, and exert the power historically associated with the Christian revelation—in fact, against the entire philosophy which Pfleiderer eloquently expounds.

Only a rapid glance is needed to discover that the Berlin professor's scheme contains nothing essentially new. The rejection of the supernatural is old. From the days of Christ until now there have always been many deniers of the miraculous in connection with his life and Gospel. Since August Comte's *Philosophie Positive* appeared there has been in France, Germany, and England a distinct school of thinkers, bent on eliminating all supernatural elements from religious beliefs. Nor is there anything novel and original in Pfleiderer's particular form of attack. He learned his lessons from men who promulgated these theories forty, fifty, or sixty years ago. He has only extended, coordinated, and illustrated the opinions and arguments which were put forth in a former generation from the University of Tübingen. Indeed, his ideas are derived still further back, from Lessing's *Education of the Human Race*, published in 1780. He is an echo of Baur, Strauss, and earlier thinkers ; and the law that the echo shall be fainter than the original voice is not broken in this case.

These antisupeatural theories were adequately answered as soon as they appeared. Neither Protestantism nor Romanism has been destitute of scholars able to produce abundant materials for complete refutation. Times without number these rationalist reasonings have been utterly demolished wherever they were uttered. The doctrines which Edinburgh heard from the lips of the man from Berlin are already discredited in the land of their birth ; they do not dominate German thought, being rejected by more learned scholarship than favors them even in rationalizing Germany. The Ritschlian school sends Baur and Pfleiderer to the rear. The system of theology which was outlined from Tübingen receives from Pfleiderer its most elaborate presentation at a time when it was not worth the labor spent upon the task, since it has had its day and is no longer in demand, even in the intellectual markets of the Continent. For a foreigner to bring to Scotland his basketful of cold victuals left over from the ration-

alistic revel of half a century ago and spread a table in Edinburgh with these superfluous viands hardly justified his traveling expenses. His argument had been sifted and formally condemned in Scotland years before he arrived. Dr. Whedon would say that the Gifford lectures of 1894 were like an infant reprobate—damned before it was born. One Scottish volume alone, *The Miraculous Element*, by that sinewy master in theology, Dr. A. B. Bruce, of Glasgow, a thinker who has squarely faced and fairly conquered all forms of infidelity, is a sufficient antidote to Pfleiderer's poison, the chapter considering what would be left were the miraculous eliminated being specially to be commended.

This "man of light and leading" from the German capital, who was induced by a high price to come down the Rhine and cross the Channel to enlighten Scotland, smites the very foundations of evangelical and biblical Christianity and claims to have destroyed them. He holds that there has been no supernaturally inspired revelation. All man's religious ideas have been obtained by the efforts of his own reason. The Bible is simply an ancient religious classic, no different in kind from many other books. The gospel records are largely unreliable. As for the gospel of John, it is in no sense an historical writing, but a didactic treatise, which derived its theological ideas chiefly from Philo and invested them in the form of a life of Jesus as a sort of religious fiction. Christ was merely an unusual religious genius, a purely human evolution, differing only in degree, if indeed in that, from other religious leaders. Although he had some grand thoughts about God and life, he was, it seems, rather a goody-goody sort of saint, simple-minded and well-meaning, but considerably deluded. Indeed, he was, like the rest of us, not without his faults; he was not spotless, sinless, guiltless. Some things which he is recorded to have claimed for himself cannot possibly have been true. He is not indisputably fit to be file-leader and head of the column in humanity's hopeful march toward a better future. There was no ground for Charles Lamb's saying, "If Shakespeare came into the room just now we would all rise up; but if He came in we would all kneel down." Redemption is an empty dream, atonement an exploded notion which Paul erroneously held; there is no forgiveness of sins. Jesus did not rise from the tomb, Mary did not meet her Lord in the garden, he did not walk and talk with two disciples on the Emmaus road, he did not show his wound-prints to Thomas, nor eat with his disciples on the shore; for the Syrian stars look down to-night on his unknown and hopeless grave.

Life and immortality have not been brought to light by him. Easter services are meaningless. The conversion of Saul of Tarsus was an attack of epilepsy. Paul did not see the Lord on his way to Damascus; he had a fit and imagined it all. The vision and experience which Paul describes with solemn asseveration and utmost verisimilitude is rejected by Pfleiderer as positively as by Renan and Weizsäcker. There are no answered prayers; there is no regenerating and sanctifying Holy Spirit.

We do not misrepresent, but give fair samples of the sort of stuff to which, distinctly stated or inevitably implied, the university of Edinburgh listened and which now stands in English print. If we believe Pfleiderer and his like both Old Testament and New are stripped of their glory and their authority. Gone are the pillars of cloud and fire, the manna white round Israel's black tents, the manifest presence of the Lord with his people—all numbered with the incredible and impossible. A horrible silence extinguishes the temple worship—nothing for trumpets to blow, voices to sing about, or harps to thrill to any more. The Lord hath not spoken, neither doth he hear. The objects of ancient faith are departed; dwindling in distance, they have passed away shuddering into the dark. There was no Star of Bethlehem. No wise men nineteen hundred years ago came seeking a newborn King who should save his people from their sins; the wise men live now, with headquarters in Germany, and make westward pilgrimages to publish the glad tidings that men have no King and Saviour. The nimbus gone from the brow of Jesus Christ; no halo shines round the head that once was crowned with thorns. The imaginary personage whom Stephen was supposed to have seen sitting at the right hand of God has suffered dethronement at the hands of philosophers. A German professor waves his philosophic wand, and down falls the eternal Son of God into the dust. So it looks from the chair of theology at Berlin.

Otto Pfleiderer makes bold and complete denial of the divinity and perfectness of Jesus Christ. It matters not that Peter declares that his Master is not as other men; that Pilate washes his hands of responsibility for the condemnation of one in whom he can find no fault; that Judas hangs himself in remorse for having betrayed the innocent; that James, who knew him all his life, testifies of him as the Lawgiver and Judge of men; and that Jesus asserts his own immaculate faultlessness, challenges the friends who knew him best and the enemies who hated him worst to prove any sin in him, and claims all power in heaven and on earth. All this

goes for nothing. Such things cannot be, because Pfeleiderer's philosophy does not admit their possibility. Peter and Pilate and Judas and James and Jesus were in error. The Gifford lecturer is the man who knows, though he was not there; just as England's apostle of culture gives us in *Literature and Dogma* his infallible interpretation of the Bible in a way destructive of all orthodox doctrine, and just as a Boston Unitarian prodigy of omniscience informs us that the evangelists who were on the spot misunderstood and misreported our Lord, and then graciously tells us, from his vantage point nineteen centuries away from the facts, precisely what Jesus did actually teach and mean, and we are invited to accept the gospel according to Matthew Arnold, Pfeleiderer, Savage, and company in place of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. We will consider the invitation when these new evangelists have endured the raking fire of eighteen hundred years and then are as widely read, as reverently talked about, and as devoutly cherished by the most intelligent millions of mankind as the New Testament now is.

From our point of view, as we weigh the evidence and lift up our eyes to behold, the King still sits upon his throne, administering his kingdom, listening compassionately to the prayers of his saints, judging his enemies, sending abroad his saving word and his enlightening Spirit. In the face of Jesus Christ the light of the knowledge of the glory of God still shines.

That one Face, far from vanish, rather grows,
Becomes my universe that feels and knows.

Looking up with human reverence to that face divine, we offer it ever-increasing homage, because his character is extraordinary in its qualities and singular in its powers. He was exceptional in his conscious relation to the supreme Maker and Ruler of the universe; his life is a piece of history quite special and unlike any other; he is in all respects an exception so rare and solitary as to have no parallel. All this he claimed for himself; this his followers from the first have always asserted with a sincerity often sealed with their blood; this in large measure many of his enemies have finally been compelled to concede; this no man has shown himself able to disprove. He still stands alone on his high plane—singular, superb, supreme. The effort to reduce him ever fails. The flawless and eternal Christ abides and reigns for evermore. Always, as once at Nazareth, he passes through his enemies unharmed.

THE ARENA.

WHERE ARE THE CHEMISTS?—A WORD WITH WEISMANN.

It ought not to be overlooked, in any discussion touching the origin of life from inorganic material, that the men who dogmatize most are biologists and not chemists. Chemistry has been strangely overlooked; and when this has not occurred, its facts and principles have been crudely handled by men driven by the stern stress of system in the direction of necessary conclusions. And yet a moment's consideration will be sufficient to show that, if the question of the material or nonmaterial evolution of life is to be decided, the men to do it are the chemists. If life be the resultant of extreme molecular complexity, which is the claim made by extreme evolutionists, then the problem is chiefly one for the chemist, to whose domain all questions of purely molecular groupings and their effects legitimately belong. The world has heard much of Tyndall the physicist, of Huxley the biologist; but the great British chemist Roscoe is a comparatively silent man.

Since the year 1777, when Spallanzani and Needham initiated the first important discussion on the alleged spontaneous origin of living germs, the doctrine of abiogenesis has constantly grown in interest; and such is the confidence of the men whose profound biological acquirements command our respect, but whose chemistry surely is faulty, that it now seems to be taken as a positive truth that the wondrous power which has clothed the crags and rocks and wildernesses of nature with a "green and golden immortality" is, in its ultimate analysis, but a product of molecular complexity or a mystic motion of that universal force which moves suns and molds raindrops. "No one doubts," it is said, "that in organic living cells . . . there resides a special force, . . . which we imagine to be as material as heat." And this from a text-book on fermentation, when perhaps not one in a dozen students would perceive the rank materialism of the teaching. It certainly should be remembered in presence of such statements that the microscope and the laboratory stand aloof from such dogmatism. The origin of life from the nonliving is an hypothesis suggested, not so much by the phenomena requiring explanation, as by the necessity of a speculation which aims at traveling from atoms to minds without a break in the journey.

Weismann, upon whom it is thought the mantle of Darwin has fallen, and whose view of the nature of heredity, if substantiated, will cause a general reconstruction of the doctrine of evolution, with a frankness truly scientific has stated very unequivocally his view of the matter: "I admit that spontaneous generation, in spite of all vain attempts to demonstrate it, remains for me a logical necessity. We cannot regard organic and inorganic matter as independent of each other and both eternal, for organic matter is continually passing without residuum into the inorganic; . . . but that which can be completely resolved into inorganic matter must have arisen from it, and must owe its ultimate foundation to it."

Not only is abiogenesis undemonstrated, but the balance of probabilities is against the doctrine. Yet for Weismann, that is, from his standpoint, this doctrine is a logical necessity. Is this any better reason than that of some enthusiast who knows that he is correct because he feels he is? But the Friedburg professor gives a reason for his belief upon which it may be observed: (1) That, as is usual in such cases, he uses the term "organic" as synonymous with "living," which is positively incorrect. The idea is to minimize the importance and essential distinctiveness of living matter by ignoring its peculiarities. No one would gather from the above quotation that organic matter was one thing and organic matter as the vehicle of life quite another and, indeed, very different thing. This is a scandalous method of argumentation, and yet it is adopted by most writers on this topic. The poverty of their case is a matter of easy inference. (2) That organic and inorganic are not independent of each other everyone knows. One is the house and the other the bricks. The chemist in his laboratory with his inorganic bricks builds a house, but we never hear of the bricks doing this for themselves. And if in some cases this is found to occur—which is not improbable, by the way—still Weismann and his fellow-thinkers are not assisted, because it is not the organic house so much as its inmates that requires explanation. (3) That organic matter passes without residuum into the inorganic is granted; but, unless organic matter and organic matter instinct with the potentialities of life are essentially one and the same thing, there is nothing gained by Weismann in referring to so elementary a proposition. The reason above given for abiogenesis does not take us a single step beyond a most elementary aspect of chemistry until a most gigantic and altogether unwarrantable assumption is made, namely, that the manifold powers of life pass, as does its organic basis, without residuum into the inorganic.

East Weymouth, Mass.

WILLIAM HEAP BUTLER.

ANSWERS TO PRAYER.

Is it the intent of prayer to change God's purposes or to cause him to bestir himself to greater and more effective effort? Should Christian people seek to turn God from his purposes, to warm his love, or to increase his efforts toward those for whom they pray? Let us mention some of the attributes and perfections of God that should be considered in framing an answer to these questions, namely, his omniscience, immutability, infinite wisdom, love, mercy, justice, and truth. When we have properly considered these we shall shrink from the responsibility of asking God to turn from his plans and adopt ours.

Can there be wiser plans or better purposes than God's? Can it be that the prayers of parents, relatives, or Christian friends in behalf of their loved ones, neighbors, or the heathen world cause God to love with more intensity and act with more effectiveness than when he gave his Son for them? God has preordained that repentant sinners shall be saved, and that unrepentant sinners shall be damned. Is it wise to ask God to change that law? Can a better or wiser law be suggested? If so,

is God infinite in wisdom? In the case of Nineveh God acted in accord with this law; hence, there was no change of purpose in him. The sinning Ninevites changed to repentant sinners, and were saved according to the preordained purpose of God to save repenting sinners. In the case of the intercession of Moses for Israel after the idolatrous worship of the golden calf, are we to conclude that God had forgotten his promise to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that Moses recalled the promise, and then succeeded in changing the purpose of the immutable One? If so Moses should have been more merciful than to cause three thousand of the people to be slain. The evidence is unmistakable that Israel repented and changed to the class that God has proposed to save from destruction. I do not think there is now, or ever has been, or ever will be, a sufficient cause to ask God to change his purpose or to increase his love or activity. If Jehovah is the being we have been taught to believe he is his purposes are right, and he is doing all he can for the creatures whom he loves and will ever continue to love.

The intent of prayer is, not to work changes in God, but in men; to open channels of communication between God and men, so that he can carry out his purposes; to offer God instrumentalities by which to execute his plans. There is the opposite of comfort in the thought that prevailing prayer turns God from executing his wise and benevolent and just purposes. All of God's purposes are of that character. Prevailing prayer prevails over the one who offers it and brings him into complete harmony with God's purposes. A company of Christians, kneeling, seeking souls at the altar, and offering prevailing prayer, furnishes a channel of communication by which God may approach, in saving power, the hearts of the seekers. When great distance intervenes between him who offers prevailing prayer and the object of it, it is not necessary to conclude that a change is wrought in God. He that understands the laws of mind and knows the power that one mind can exert over another, even when long distance separates them, is aware that the answer is accomplished in the same way as when the two minds are in close proximity.

McGregor, Ia.

L. L. LOCKARD.

LAWFUL, BUT NOT EXPEDIENT.

THE principle enunciated and inculcated in the above maxim is one that from time immemorial has been recognized as fair in mercantile, legal, and ecclesiastical practices. We purpose, therefore, to employ it in a brief discussion of the "equal lay representation" movement. It is conceded at the very outset that such representation in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church is perfectly legitimate and preeminently lawful; further, that, as a principle, it is scientifically just and philosophically right, and, as a mathematical proposition, is scrupulously exact and rigidly equitable. But at this point we change front, believing, as we do, that in the present *modus operandi* of making up a General Conference such representation is grossly inexpedient. The following facts, among others, will prove this.

The ministers composing the rank and file of the Annual Conferences are obviously opposed to increasing the ratio of ministerial representation to the General Conference. Instance the vote taken in the spring Conference on the proposed constitutional amendment. The General Conference of 1892 was palpably unwieldy, if not totally unmanageable, as the closing precipitate and back-handed legislation would indicate. To add one hundred and fifty laymen, more or less, to such an already congested body, without deducting therefrom a numerical clerical equivalent, would make an assembly where, in the heat of debate, confusion would be worse confounded. The expense, also, of the last General Conference was an immense financial burden to the Church. It ought not to be increased. This would inevitably follow the numerical enlargement of the body. Again, so long as the separate vote, subject to the call of one third of either order, is in operation, the laymen would gain nothing in voting power if the proposed change were to be effected. Neither would they increase their influence in the General Conference. Both their power and influence depend, not upon their numbers, but upon their equal vote as an order, their knowledge of routine business and General Conference technic, combined with a readiness to obtain the floor and their dexterity in debate.

If the time shall ever come when it shall be deemed practicable by the Church to have the General Conference consist of lay and ministerial delegates in equal proportion some preliminary changes must first be made. Either the ministerial ratio of representation must be decreased from one for every forty-five to one for every ninety, or a sliding scale thereof—which, we think, will not come to pass in the near future—with a corresponding increase in the number of lay representatives to tally with the cleric; or else there must be arrangements made for two separate assemblies, one for the clergy, and one for the laity, analogous to the two houses of our national Congress. Either of these radical alterations will make equal lay representation in the General Conference feasible and workable. But is the Church ready for either? If not, then the only alternative is to have the General Conference composed in the future on the present basis and ratio of cleric and laic delegations.

Clayton, N. Y.

CHARLES SHEARD.

A WORD TO OUR THEOLOGIAN.

THE following was suggested by reading Dr. McChesney's article on the "Methodist Doctrine of Atonement" some time back in the *Review*. I offer it for the devout consideration of our theologians. The Almighty, permitting Adam and Eve to perpetuate a fallen race of human beings, bringing them into sinful conditions with which they had nothing to do and over which they had no control, laid himself under obligation to provide for that race a Saviour and to give every soul a fair chance of being saved. I think it possible that a just consideration of the above truth will throw some new light upon the doctrine of atonement, revealing some things not generally apprehended.

RICHARD POVEY.

Provincetown, Mass.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.**SOME OF THE RESULTS OF OUR SUMMER SCHOOLS.**

THE season of summer schools has just closed, and it is well for us to pause and note results. Whether the summer school as an institution has already reached its climax, so that there will be no further advance in this direction, it is impossible at the present time to tell. Many great movements of the kind have so reached their culmination, and have then gradually declined or have rapidly passed away. Unless, however, something new and more valuable shall be discovered to take their place, we hope that these schools will long remain. We may say in general that thus far they have broadened the mental horizon of many persons and introduced topics to the people which, in the nature of things, are excluded from ordinary discussion in Churches and local communities. The preaching of the Gospel is necessarily limited to the teachings of the Bible, especially in its evangelistic aspects. Its object is to bring men to Christ and to edify believers. Many departments of thought, therefore, are not touched upon by the Christian pastor, and rarely by the lecturer who occasionally appears in isolated communities. Such subjects are more or less accessible in the summer schools, and serve to widen intellectual vision and to increase and develop intellectual vigor.

It is true that university extension has lately been striving to accomplish for the people much the same thing during the entire year. The principle of university extension is the imparting of knowledge by carrying great subjects and competent teachers to the people, instead of having the people come to them. Some of our ablest professors prepare courses of lectures and deliver them from place to place, and thus become, so to speak, peripatetic instructors and extend their influence over large sections of country. With the present development of the movement, however, they can of necessity reach but scattered portions here and there of our entire country, and that only at intervals of longer or shorter duration. But the summer schools, though in operation during only a few weeks in each year, compress and concentrate into these weeks a continuous succession of lectures and courses upon the most important subjects. Under the stimulus and momentum of these accumulated privileges the student may be encouraged to continue his studies by himself during the remainder of the year. Some of the foremost authors and scholars present their best work before these schools. A glance at the curriculum of any of our institutions of this kind will show how broad the range of topics. Science, literature, language, art, architecture, physical culture, and the Bible are represented by men well qualified to give instruction. The Greek and Hebrew languages, especially, are taught by some of our ablest biblical scholars. The list of those who lecture and give instruction in them proves how much ability and scholarship these schools employ.

In the public mind they have attained a dignity far beyond what was

originally anticipated. They have received the approbation of all Protestant Churches. The Roman Catholic Church, too, with that clear vision which enables it to recognize what is best calculated to increase its prestige, has established a summer school at Plattsburg, N. Y. Quite recently it received a visit from Archbishop Corrigan, of New York; and Pope Leo XIII has sent it his blessing. Yet, in spite of this general approval, there are dangers connected with these schools as well. There are many to whom institutions of this kind have opened a new world, who have never known that there was so much to be learned. Even those of mature years are often surprised at the vast amount of work required to be done in any course of study; just as theological students sometimes come to theological institutions supposing that in one year they can dispose of the entire course of study, and are astonished and somewhat disheartened when told that, even at the end of a full course, they will have made only a beginning, which is to be supplemented throughout their entire ministerial career. Then, too, a mere superficial acquaintance with many subjects is not to be commended; and those who attend these summer courses should be warned against the results which naturally follow from the short time devoted to so many and such important subjects. Besides, they institute inquiries on profound subjects which cannot be carried to completion in the brief period allotted to their study and discussion. The only remedy of which we can think is that those to whom these fields of knowledge have been opened should continue their studies at their homes under some competent instructor, if it be possible, who may be within their reach. Take, for example, the courses which are offered to beginners in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, German, and the sciences. One can begin these studies in the summer schools and, by continuing his work at home and attending again next year, will soon find himself so far advanced that he will be able to make rapid progress even without the aid of any instructors.

These schools have given many, at moderate cost and in connection with a summer outing, opportunities for mental improvement, who otherwise might never have obtained an education, which depends on opportunity, environment, emulation, and stimulus. Many young persons coming to these lectures receive a stimulus which is not spent until they have acquired a thorough education. They also enable many to revive studies and make fresh advances in them. The active duties of life often obliterate the results of some branches of study which were of great interest in earlier years. Ministers sometimes complain that they have lost their Hebrew and Greek, and occasionally one who has been through the entire theological course has been heard to say that he had lost the power to even pronounce the Hebrew text. This state of things would disappear if, instead of dropping study altogether, such ministers would attend the summer classes, would review first principles, and listen to some well-qualified professors. Principles which seemed obscure even when first learned would now take definite form, and before long they would find themselves, not only recovering that which had been lost, but also making

progress; and in all probability their preaching thenceforward would be better, more original, more biblical, and more scholarly, because the instinct of scholarship had been reawakened.

These schools also afford rest by change of employment. It is considered by some that the best form of rest is, in popular language, "to vegetate;" that is, to eat, to drink, to sleep, and, in general, to do "absolutely nothing." Others claim that the best form of rest is a change of employment. We are told that a person who has been pursuing one study for a long time and has become fatigued can rest his mind, not by abandoning study altogether, but by devoting his attention to a different subject. The new subject seems to employ a different part of his mentality, and thus affords relief to the particular part which has become wearied. In attendance upon these schools there is constantly something demanding attention. It is something different from that which has engaged one during the year, and thus affords rest and, at the same time, recreation. Fresh studies are restful, especially when one is not under the pressure of obedience to minute regulations, as in other schools.

It is important, however, in order to improve the advantages of the summer schools, that study and attendance upon lectures be not overdone. There are dangers of such a broad distribution of one's efforts as will produce mental and spiritual dissipation. It may well be questioned whether the programs of exercises are not too full. It may be said in defense of them, however, that they afford opportunities for so many departments of study that they meet the requirements of a greater number than would a more restricted list. If they were confined to the teaching of three or four branches or three or four courses of lectures they would be limited in their influence, and consequently would be less useful. The remedy is with the individual, who selects the subjects which he prefers. It is one of the cases where elective courses are absolute, no teacher and no curriculum standing in the way; but it is wise to take only such subjects as one can pursue with ease and profit. It is better to take up one or two departments each year, rarely more than three, and work at these only, but not to a point producing weariness. The object of a summer vacation is to secure rest, and overtaxing in the matter of study will deprive one of the best results; therefore a few studies will produce better results than would an attempt to accomplish all that is laid down in the course. The purport of these remarks should not be misunderstood. One who would secure an education should ever remember that this can only be done by slow and steady growth. The foundation must be carefully laid and the structure carefully and progressively erected. There can be no bounding at once from corner stone to top stone; every intervening stone must be carefully laid in its proper place. Only by recognizing that a course of study should begin with the preparatory school, pass through all the intermediate stages, and close with the professional school, can one attain any adequate idea of the education which is essential for the development of the best manhood and womanhood. That the past season has been productive of good results to the

Church in promoting a healthful mental life and broader views of duty, as well as in affording rest and recreation to multitudes of weary ministers and laymen, cannot well be doubted.

THEOLOGICAL GRADUATES AND THE CONFERENCE COURSE.

THE "Itinerants' Club" is glad to welcome suggestions in regard to the Conference Course of Study and the Conference Examinations. We have a letter inquiring whether the requirement, that a graduate of a theological institution shall, in addition, pass the Conference examinations, does not put a premium upon ignorance. The writer of the letter evidently means that it gives no recognition to the value of special theological training under competent professors, and thus discourages young men from taking a full course of study in our institutions of learning. This subject is a matter much discussed among our younger ministers and by the students in our colleges and seminaries. If our correspondent means that our Conference Course should be abolished and some other method of training our ministry adopted similar to that of other denominations, he raises an entirely new question, and one which can only be decided after full discussion.

The question before us, however, is not whether some other plan is better on the whole than the present one, but whether the graduates of our theological schools shall be excused from passing the prescribed course. In the present status of the Church regulations on this subject this cannot well be done. Every candidate must pass the prescribed course in a manner satisfactory to his Conference. The only way which occurs to us by which the change could be accomplished would be for the bishops, who formulated the Course under the authority of the General Conference, to prescribe a course of study practically identical with that which is passed by the theological student before he graduates. This would be the more practicable since the courses of study in most theological institutions are very similar, so much so that students pass readily from one to another on simple certificates showing their class standing. Such an arrangement would not, perhaps, meet the suggestion of our correspondent; but it would, at least, relieve the student from preparing for examination in new books and subjects. Yet it is scarcely in the region of probability.

The difficulties in the way of substituting theological seminary examinations for Conference examinations make it impossible under present conditions. In the first place, it would transfer the admission of candidates of an Annual Conference to a body of men over whom the Conference has no control. Every Conference is the judge of the terms of admission to its membership, subject to the regulations of the General Conference. A substitution of the theological school course for the Conference Course would, therefore, be not only irregular, but impossible. Again, the acceptance of the examination of the schools as final would be an abrogation of rights and obligations which the ministers in our Conferences would be slow to surrender. They naturally regard it as their duty to obtain

through their own committees some knowledge of the qualifications of the candidates whom they are asked to welcome as fellow-laborers. It might be granted that in some other way the examination could be more thoroughly made; yet this does not free the Conference from its personal responsibility to the Church. All bodies of ministers, so far as we are aware, examine their candidates personally or by their representatives. In the Presbyterian Church candidates are licensed by the presbytery, in the Reformed Church by the classis. In the Church of England each bishop has his examining chaplain. It would hardly be possible, it seems to us, for any Conference to transfer its privilege, responsibility, and authority in this matter.

Any plan which the Church may adopt should be uniform and applied equally to all. If all candidates for our ministry were required to pass the curriculum of our theological seminaries it would be easy to carry out the thought of our correspondent. As it is, however, our young men come from various kinds of schools, and the Church receives them on the basis of the examinations she prescribes, provided they have "gifts, grace, and usefulness." The present method also enables the students to pass through the Course of Study along with those who are to be their associates in labor, mutual interest, and fellowship. As they sit side by side they realize that disparities in their educational advantages disappear, and that they are joint workers in the Master's vineyard. Our correspondent has called our attention to an important subject which we may consider further, and which the Church will surely study more fully as the years go on.

THE ORDER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

THE General Conference in its wisdom has not left our Church without a prescribed order of Sabbath worship. Paragraph 56 of the Discipline contains definite instructions upon this subject. The tendency, however, to substitute for the assigned order an arrangement peculiar to individual churches is certainly widespread. If the practice of the whole Church may be inferred from the customs which obtain in our own locality the order in the different churches varies widely. Some begin their worship with an anthem by the choir, some with a hymn, and some with the doxology. Some recite the Lord's Prayer, and some do not. Some read a responsive lesson from Wesley's *Select Psalms*; some read a psalm selected at random by the pastor; while some, perhaps a goodly proportion, read no responsive lesson at all. Some take the collection before the sermon, and some afterward. In fact, it is hard to imagine a greater diversity than exists in the practice of a Church whose order of worship is so fully outlined in the Discipline. The attention of our younger ministers especially should be directed to this common neglect of the established rules. It is not here contended that the order prescribed is necessarily the best that could be devised; nor is it forgotten that the Discipline inserts the saving clause, "as far as possible," in its directions. Yet local alterations of the rules should not be capricious, injudicious, or unreasonable.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

MUMMIFICATION.

* How early the art of embalment was practiced in Egypt cannot be determined with certainty. There are those who claim that it can be traced back to the first dynasty. The oldest mummy in regard to the age of which there is a general agreement is that of Seker-em-sa-f, son of Pepi I, who lived about B. C. 3200. This was found in 1881, at Sakkara, and is now preserved at Gizeh. Mummification could not have been universal throughout Egypt in the earliest ages, or indeed at any time, for along with bodies swathed in mummy cloth are also found skeletons which show no sign of ever having been bandaged. These, however, from the odor peculiar to them, prove clearly that chemicals similar to those of the embalmer must have been employed in their preparation. The difference of race, religion, or even the poverty of the subject, may account for this. Mummification reaches back to gray antiquity, and continues uninterruptedly to the fourth century of the Christian era, when we notice a growing opposition to the practice on the part of the early Christians, since it incurred a needless expense and was at variance with the teaching of the Church concerning the resurrection of the body. So that by A. D. 700 embalming had almost disappeared even from Egypt.

The time was when our knowledge of embalming was derived almost wholly from Greek and Latin writers. Diodorus and Herodotus wrote at length upon the subject. From the latter we learn that there were three modes—one for the great and wealthy, another for the middle classes, and a third for the very poor. The statements of the Greek historians are known to be, in many regards, at variance with the facts as disclosed to us by recent discoveries and undisputed authority proceeding from the remotest ages. Of late years much light has been shed upon the subject by the decipherment of inscriptions on coffins, sarcophagi, the rock-hewn tombs, and mummy cloths inscribed with passages from the *Book of the Dead*, as well as of the numberless papyri discovered in more than one necropolis. The unrolling of mummies belonging to different dynasties has also contributed materially, in modern times, to our knowledge of Egyptian funereal archæology. The labors of Young, Champollion, and later Egyptologists have familiarized us with mysterious hieroglyphics of the land of the Pharaohs. The decipherment of these documents, sealed for so many centuries, may be regarded now as being reasonably correct, so that we can say with Dr. Budge, speaking of the obsequies of Ani, the great scribe of the offerings of the gods in the temple of Amen-ra: "The facts are all known, and therefore nothing need be invented. It is only necessary to gather them together and bring them to a focus on the person of one man."

From a study of the inscriptions and the entire process of Egyptian embalming and sepulture it becomes clear that the Egyptians not only

believed in the immortality of the soul, but also in the revivification of the body. Mummification, with its endless details, was performed in the belief that the soul would again return and claim the very body it had to leave at death. The priests of ancient Egypt taught that man was compounded of four distinct parts—the soul, the intelligence, the genius or *ka*, and the material body. When death came the first two separated from the body. The intelligence wandered through space, and the soul performed its dreary pilgrimage in the nether world and, after a probationary absence of from three to ten thousand years, returned to the tomb where the body had been left in charge of the *ka*, which, ever faithful to its sacred trust, never deserted it for a moment. These four parts were now reunited, and the complete man, yea, more than man, was transferred to the kingdom of Osiris, there to enjoy eternal life and divine repose. As entrance to the realm of the great judge of the dead was conditioned upon the reunion of the four parts separated at death, the utmost care was used to preserve the body intact. As the loss of a single organ or member would endanger its resuscitation, it is easy to see why the Egyptians paid such strict attention to the inviolable preservation of the earthly tabernacle. Whoever would care to study the subject in detail cannot do better than to read Dr. Budge's work, entitled *The Mummy*. What adds value to this volume is the fact that it brings the leading data down to our time, and that direct from the monuments themselves.

In the light of these modern discoveries and recent explorations we learn that when an important personage, a man of wealth and influence, died in Egypt, his body was taken to the establishment of the embalmers. It is not certain that the embalmers were themselves of the priestly caste; but we do know that they were held in high esteem and favor by the priesthood. The preparation of the body by a large number of professionals and its final removal to the tomb, incurring an enormous expense, must have been a source of emolument to the hierarchy. This doubtless explains, at least partially, the exorbitant charges connected with burial in Egypt. Embalming being a religious rite and under the immediate supervision of the priests, it was but natural that songs should be chanted, prayers offered, and a regular ritual followed at every step.

The body was first of all washed. The intestines, lungs, heart, and other organs were removed and, having been subjected to a most thorough cleansing, were rinsed in palm wine, stuffed with aromatic substances, and then sewed up. The outside was also rubbed with precious ointments and fragrant oils. The organs were then wrapped up in cloths, expressly made for the purpose, into four packages, which were properly inscribed with hieroglyphs and finally placed in as many Canopic jars or vases. The contents of these jars, we know, were not always the same. In the case of Ani—a papyrus bearing his name is preserved in the British Museum—we learn that the stomach was placed in one jar, the heart in another, the smaller intestines in a third, while the liver was deposited in the fourth. Each vase was inscribed with the name of the departed. It also bore the name of one of the four divinities in immediate charge of the contents.

These four gods, Mestha, Hapi, Tuamautef, and Qebhsennuf, representing the four cardinal points in the lower world, were themselves under the special protection of four goddesses—Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Selket, respectively. These vases were, we may add, variously ornamented and hermetically sealed with liquid plaster; for, as already said, it was of the utmost importance that each and every portion of the dead body should be properly preserved. Canopic jars were not universally used, for often we find the viscera separately mummified and wrapped up between the legs and arms of the deceased. In the case of poor Egyptians it is not even probable that the viscera were at all removed. The statements of Plutarch and Porphyry, that the Egyptians took out the intestines, exposed them to the sun, accused them of being the cause of sins committed, and then threw them into the river, cannot be regarded as true, since they are in direct contradiction to the entire meaning of mummification, namely, the inviolable preservation of the body.

The body, having been relieved of the parts most liable to decay, was now steeped for seventy or seventy-two days in a preparation of natron. The fleshiest parts of the body were cut open and filled with chemicals and then stitched up. The cranium and eviscerated body were likewise filled with proper substances. The finger-nails were colored. A ring of gold, silver, or cheaper material was placed upon the little finger of the right hand. The most common amulets discovered in the tombs or on mummies are scarabs (beetles) of various materials. These, as a rule, were suspended from the neck over the breast, or at times placed in the heart. The name of the deceased and a verse from the *Book of the Dead*, in the form of a prayer for safe passage through the lower world, were inscribed upon the scarab. The preliminaries over, the inclosing of the body began. Almost every bandage bore some inscription or religious formula, intended to facilitate the passage of the deceased on his way to his eternal home. Every part of the body was carefully wrapped up, usually commencing with the extremities, and thus continuing till the entire man was completely swathed. Not less than one thousand yards of bandages, from three to four inches wide, have been found on a single mummy. Gums and gluey substances were employed to hold the linen strips in their places; some of them were securely tied, and that with utmost precision. This exactness of procedure becomes clear when we remember that every bandage had its own name and had written upon it the name or figure of some god, as well as a passage from the *Book of the Dead*.

As a specimen of the prayers recited during the embalming let us take the following, which was chanted while the head was wrapped up: "O most august goddess, O lady of the West, O mistress of the East, come and enter into the two ears of the deceased! O doubly powerful, eternally young, and very mighty lady of the West and mistress of the East, may breathing take place in the head of the deceased in the nether world! Grant that he may see with his eyes, that he may hear with his two ears, that he may breathe through his nose, that he may utter sounds from his mouth, and articulate with his tongue in the nether world! Receive his

voice in the hall of truth and justice, and his triumph in the hall of Seb, in the presence of the great god, lord of the West," etc. As specimens of the directions given the embalmers we may cite the following: "Wrap the toes in a piece of cloth. Draw two jackals upon two pieces of linen; and each jackal shall have its face turned toward the other. The jackal on the one bandage is Anubis, lord of Hert; the jackal on the other is Horus, lord of Hebennu. Put Anubis on the right leg and Horus on the left leg, and wrap them up in fine linen."

The solicitude with which the body was prepared would have been defeated unless proper coffins and tombs were also provided. There were usually two coffins, and often three, or even four, one within the other, and each as nearly air-tight as possible. Wooden coffins, usually of sycamore, were in use from remote times. That of Mycerinus, who lived B. C. 3600, is still preserved in the British Museum. Even at that early date inscriptions and a rude figure of the face were carved upon the lid. The sex of the mummy was known from the headdress or the presence or absence of the beard. As time rolled on the decorations became exceedingly elaborate, till in the nineteenth dynasty, or B. C. 1400, coffins were real works of art. Not only was the human face carved, molded, or painted on the outside cover, but both the inside and outside were richly ornamented with figures of the gods, temples, representations of various religious ceremonies, extracts from the *Book of the Dead*, name and titles of the defunct, and a cartouch of the reigning king. These wooden coffins were again placed in stone sarcophagi, which were so constructed as to be hermetically sealed. Though sarcophagi were used during the first dynasties, strange to say there are no examples of any from the seventh to the tenth, or from the thirteenth to the seventeenth. The inscriptions upon them were few at first. The alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I, preserved in a private collection in England, is richly carved, within and without, with numerous directions for the journey through Tuat. The most elaborately ornamented cover of a sarcophagus yet discovered is that of Rameses III.

That the ancient Egyptians firmly believed in a future life for both soul and body is perfectly clear from their funeral rites. The lavish expenditure connected with sepulture cannot be explained as the result of mere priestly deception. The finest *mastabas*, or tombs, were real palaces, elegantly furnished and artistically decorated, pleasant resting places for the *ka* while patiently awaiting the return of the soul. The discoveries, last March, by M. de Morgan at Daschour, of treasures and tomb furnishings belonging to the reign of the Usertsens—twelfth dynasty—valued at more than half a million dollars, will help the reader to form some idea of the splendor and expense of an Egyptian funeral. These ornaments, consisting of scarabs, *cyprea*, bracelets, earrings, vases, and figures of various animals and gods, are also valuable from another standpoint; for these elegant and expensive productions of the goldsmith, made between B. C. 2433 and 2333, prove clearly that a very high state of civilization existed in those early ages, and thus dispose most effectually of many objections urged by the destructive critics.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.**THE INTEREST IN THIBET.**

THAT there is at the present hour a wide circle of missionary workers interested in the opening of Thibet is very manifest. In fact, this land excites interest as a field for evangelism quite apart from its own needs or its claims upon Christian propagandists. One reason of this is the fact, or what is reputed to be a fact, that it is the only country not yet open to aggressive Christian agencies. This is emphasized even in the minds of those who do not accept the common view that the world is to be Christianized before the second coming of Christ. These hold that the Gospel is to be proclaimed in every land as a "witness" only, and that then the present "dispensation" will close and a new order of the divine administration be substituted. Such a view necessarily accentuates the importance of an entrance into this land, as a geographical portion of the world to be, in this restricted sense, "evangelized." The discussion of this theory of interpretation does not fall within our present purpose. We are at a loss, however, to see why, when such vast regions of Africa are yet untouched with the Gospel, and other whole segments of mankind are emphatically shut out from Christian approach by obstacles as insurmountable as the mountain heights of Thibet or the antagonism of its people to foreign invasion, this latter country should assume such unique importance in the minds of even this class of interpreters of teleologic prophecy. As a matter of fact, there are greater geographical stretches in both Africa and Asia, with populations vastly more numerous than that of Thibet, which are as wholly unreached, and some of them as unreachable, by any intelligent presentation of even the fundamentals of the gospel message as are the peoples behind this "last door" in the midair of mid-Asia.

A much less controversial ground of interest in Thibet might be found in its relation to the general Buddhist community of the world. But it holds within itself a distinct form of Buddhism, somewhat carelessly named Lamaism. This is endowed with a vast literature of its own, is quite distinct from the Buddhism of Ceylon or Burmah, and is an offshoot of that of the plains of India. Thus these elevated ranges of the earth hold a distinct type of religious faith, and its people would be little affected by the fall of Buddhism elsewhere in the earth. Here, then, is a separated portion of the human family, which must probably be reached by influences brought to bear directly upon its independent self. It is doubtful whether this little community of six or more millions stands in any such strategic relation to other portions of the human family in Asia as would render it important as a center of power even if evangelized. Its long isolation has put it out of touch with, as well as measurably beyond the power of, outside societies or politics. It seems, therefore, as if its interest and importance, except to those who hold the view of the "com-

ing of the kingdom" above referred to, were confined solely within itself and to its segregated population. We do not say that this detracts from the duty to spread the Gospel therein; but relatively this land does not seem to be the most important objective point when unreached peoples exist in solid races and nationalities elsewhere.

What interests many persons at this hour much more than any theory of the relative importance of Thibet as a mission field is the relative practicability of the different ways of approach to its people. The indomitable Moravians, sitting down at the west gate of Thibet at Lahoul and patiently translating portions of Scripture into Thibetan—shut in meanwhile for six months of the year, by impassable barriers of ice, from all communication with the rest of the world—challenge the admiration of all who appreciate heroic virtues. But it is exceedingly doubtful if the most practicable way of approach is not by the east rather than by the west. The Darjeeling route on the west is, of course, the shortest in leagues; but is it the shortest when time and all other things are considered? The Methodist mission in West China extends to the very borders of Thibet, and the Thibetans are separated from the people of extreme Sze-Chuen by a very indefinite line. The ethnological boundary is not at all sharply marked. Caravans are constantly passing to and fro between Ta-Tsien-Lu and Lassa. Eastern Thibet is practically an extension of our West China mission field. Roman Catholic missions have long existed in this part of the world. The people of Thibet are certainly jealous of any commercial advances into their territory, and are inhospitable to strangers on that account; but as priests of the Roman Catholic Church have resided there others may hope to do so. The fact that Miss Annie Taylor, with a Thibetan servant, could enter the country and get within easy marching distance of the capital itself unmolested renders reasonable the expectation that she and others who have become associated with her may be permitted to enter it for residence. This does not necessarily mean that, even when settled there, they will find kindly consideration, either for themselves or for their message. The romantic character of their undertaking will give to them a large share of public attention, for this most elevated country of the globe possesses unusual attractions for the imagination. These seven hundred thousand square miles are not exempt from the promise that the uttermost parts of the earth will be given to Jesus Christ for an inheritance; and sooner or later, by quiet extension of influence or by direct assault, Thibet too will be His "possession."

THE APOLOGETIC VALUE OF RECENT REVIVALS IN ASIATIC MISSIONS.

THERE is nothing connected with foreign mission work which is of intenser interest to the Christian Church than the religious phenomena which result from the preaching of the Gospel among hitherto non-Christian races. We are all familiar with the old-time emotional periods in religion in nominally Christian communities which we are wont to call,

for want of a better name, seasons of revival, and which we are also wont to attribute to supernatural agency—to the divine work of the Holy Ghost. These supernatural influences, as they are accounted, have long been assigned an apologetic character. They are among the evidences of the supernatural origin of the word of God, and are within the provision for an experimental assurance to everyone seeking to know the truth—that truth which makes men free. But, if this is a concomitant of sincere acceptance of the truth among one people, theoretically, at least, it should be so among “every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people.” Naturally, therefore, Christians look with interest to see if the same phenomena attend the preaching of the word in heathen lands. And they have not looked in vain. Great revivals have swept over many of the foreign missions of the Churches in various parts of the world, attended with the same inner consciousness of divine power on individuals, one after another, till scores have swelled to hundreds and hundreds to thousands.

Recent illustrations of uniformity in type of spiritual blessing are among the “news from afar” which has gladdened the Churches at home. Rev. William N. Brewster, Methodist Episcopal missionary at Hing-hua, Province of Fo-Kien, China, in the Foo-Chow Conference, writing of a time of refreshing, says that it began at an anniversary of a chapter of the Epworth League in that place, where prayer was being offered “for the Holy Spirit to be poured out upon all the chapters.” The usual time to close came, but all felt moved to stay longer and to continue in prayer. The members of the Theological School and the Woman’s Training schools all remained, and the sense of the divine presence became, as Mr. Brewster describes it, “awful.” All knelt to pray in all parts of the house; and, unconscious of the time occupied, they continued with one accord pouring out their souls to God till the leader told them to rise, but not until after they had been kneeling for forty minutes. This was but the initial meeting. Others followed. Other workers from the adjoining districts were brought in. Twenty-four preachers were present. They were filled with wonder. School-teachers came, other laymen came—a hundred from outside the city. An average of two hundred were at each service. Services were held three times a day. Bands of preachers instituted open-air preaching. It was a genuine “revival.” Mr. Brewster writes that the general notion that the Chinese are a stolid, unemotional race, and, hence, that we need not expect to find a joyous, fervid type of piety among them, is a mistaken one; and that while all nations have distinct characteristics, and no doubt the Chinese are less emotional than some other races, yet when filled with the Spirit they exhibit as much joy, and exhibit it in the same way, as other people do under like conditions.

Another illustration is at hand in the religious exercises of the Japanese Christians at Nagoya. These occurred in connection with the Week of Prayer at the beginning of this year, the prayer season being extended to seventeen days. A Pentecostal enthusiasm burst forth. Suddenly an old woman, trembling with emotion, cried out, “God, please pity the breth-

ren and sisters who do not come to these meetings." All present burst into tears. An extreme consciousness of sin and longing for divine blessing came upon one and another; all were the subjects of these exercises of mind and soul. The meeting was continued. The leader gave up a whole day to meditation, fasting, and prayer. Others went to a hill-top not far away for like exercise; then, endued with power from on high, they started upon a house-to-house visitation. That evening two hundred and fifty persons cried, "Release us from Satan! Give us the Holy Ghost and peace!" Three hundred persons assembled the next night. "The evangelists talked till their faces were heated as with fire."

It is needless to go more into detail. The same phenomena have been experienced in the Methodist missions in North China, in the Church of England, the Presbyterian, and other missions; and all furnish fresh inspiration to persons seeking for the conversion of men everywhere, and stoutly certify to the value of this form of Christian evidence.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT.

SOONER or later non-Christian communities come to recognize both the meaning and the power of even indirect missionary agencies. Just now the Persian government is opposing a Bible shop, a lithographic press, and even a medical mission and dispensary at Ispahan, the latter conducted by a lady physician, Miss Bird. And, what is still more significant, the Persian government's appeal to the British consul and to her majesty's minister at Teheran show that we have not misinterpreted its policy. The minister says, "The Persian government, while according perfect freedom in religious matters to all communities not professing Islam, have expressed their determination that any interference with the belief of such of their subjects as are Mussulmans shall not be tolerated;" and he serves notice on the British missionaries that they cannot receive government protection against any harm that may ensue from their supporting a Bible shop and dispensary. It is not with the moral or legal quality of this official action that we now deal. It is only quoted to show the quick perception of the Moslem world that the civilization of the Bible and the Bible itself are essentially opposed to Moslem civilization and the Quran. Heathen nations may have been somewhat slow in discerning the power of these agencies, but they sooner or later perceive their ultimate influence. The Chinese memorialists to the throne of the empire distinctly apprehended the peril to the State from the new spirit of Christianity. A contributor to the *Ostasiatische Lloyd*, of Shanghai, in an article entitled "Zur Verständigung," discussing the cause of the Chinese riots, affirms that Christianity cannot but come into collision with the constitutions of heathen States, and declares that "as long as the out-and-out politico-religious constitution of China continues to be founded on its present principles China must continue to regard Christianity as hostile, antinational, and non-Chinese," and that China is now restrained from the prohibition and persecution of Christianity only by constant fear of foreign intervention.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Carl Weizsäcker. Professor of Church History at Tübingen, he has long enjoyed the reputation of being one of the ablest theologians of Germany. Professor Harnack regards his *Das apostolische Zeitalter* (The Apostolic Age) as the greatest work on that subject ever written. To sum up the views of Weizsäcker in the space at our command is impossible. We confine ourselves to his discussion of the appearances of Christ subsequent to his resurrection. He is very confident that the events related in the gospels as having occurred at the grave were unknown to Paul; and, since he is obliged to suppose that Paul received his information concerning the appearances, as related in 1 Corinthians, from the heads of the primitive Church, he argues that they too had never heard of them. There are some things which must be accepted, although they lie outside of the range of historical investigation. But we must begin with the historical fact that Paul and those of whom Paul speaks believed themselves to have seen the risen Lord, and that the sight was not imaginary or in any sense merely subjective, but objectively real. Comparing Paul's ideas of the resurrection body, as found in various portions of his writings, we must believe that Paul saw, not the body of Christ as it went into the grave, but a spiritual body. Hence, we must conclude that the others mentioned by Paul as having seen the risen Lord saw, not a physical, but a spiritual appearance, like that which Paul saw. Nevertheless, what Paul saw when the Lord appeared to him was not a *Phantasie*, but, on the contrary, reality. The report of Paul cannot be reconciled with the report in the gospels; and Paul's report must be accepted. The one great certainty is that the witnesses mentioned by Paul experienced a moment in which they were filled with the certainty that Jesus lived and was with them. It is in such conclusions as these that we discover the full significance of the higher criticism. By the methods of reasoning here pursued the Gospel records concerning the resurrection are set aside as worthless products of a later age, and Paul's account is interpreted as being determinative for the nature of the appearances even to those who believed before Paul. Weizsäcker says nothing about the coincidence of the time at which Jesus is declared, both by the evangelists and Paul, to have risen from the dead; nor of the implications connected with the fact that he was dead three days and then came to life. The accounts in the gospels and Acts are more satisfactory than Paul's.

Jules Bovon. The Frenchmen who carefully and originally study theological questions are few; but Bovon is one of the few. He is professor of theology in the Free Church faculty at Lausanne, and author of a number of works which have attracted considerable attention in France.

He has projected a monumental work of six volumes on the theology of the New Testament. The first volume has appeared, under the title *La Vie et l'Enseignement de Jésus*, which is in reality a study of the work of redemption in Christ. His researches in this volume rest upon a two-fold supposition, namely, on the one side, that that which is new and creative in the teachings of Jesus is not his message, but the Messenger himself; and, on the other, that the preaching of the kingdom of heaven and the Messianic self-consciousness of Jesus can only be understood and appreciated in connection with the history of Jesus and his time. So far he is in harmony with the most recent students. But he draws from these premises the conclusion that New Testament theology must start with an examination of the facts of Christ's life; and here he diverges from the prevailing view, namely, that the facts of Christ's life need not be investigated with reference to their credibility in order to the formation of a New Testament theology. We are inclined to side with Bovon. It is true that the theology of the New Testament can be studied with as much indifference to the reality of the alleged facts of the New Testament as one might experience in studying the theology of Homer. The theology of the New Testament is one thing, and the reality of it is another. But to deny the New Testament theologian the right to investigate the reality of the life of Christ as portrayed in the gospels would be to deny him the right to criticise his sources. The Christian theologian is more than a theologian. He is also a Christian. To him the question is, not merely what the New Testament teaches, but also how much of what it teaches is true. And this is a vital question. There must be no divorce between criticism and positive theology. The results of a true criticism must be incorporated into the Christian system. Forgetfulness of this principle has made criticism incautious and New Testament theology a matter of purely literary interest. If the critics can prove that Christ did not really rise from the dead we can no longer believe in the resurrection. The truth of the gospel utterances must be tested.

C. H. Scharling. According to its size Denmark has produced a relatively large number of able investigators and thinkers. Among the more recent, Scharling has distinguished himself by his work on Christian ethics, a department already well studied by that other great Dane, Martensen. He takes what seems to us the only tenable position relative to the true nature and function of conscience, when he defines it as the consciousness of mankind that the moral law possesses absolute validity and as the judge which necessarily estimates all our acts accordingly. That man possesses along with this a moral judgment is unquestionable. And it may be freely admitted that the conscience and moral judgment intimately cooperate. When the moral judgment declares an act wrong the conscience accepts the *dictum* as law and moves the will against it. But, however blind may be the impulse which drives us to follow the dictates of the moral judgment, it is the impulse, and not the judgment, which we rightly call conscience. The judgment is capable of being

corrected or altered; but the impulse is constant. It may be made more strong or more sensitive; but it can never be made to excuse us for doing what our judgment says is wrong. In another particular we cannot so well agree with the views of Scharling. He holds that duty has validity only for the individual in his particular circumstances. This is so far true that duty is sometimes modified by circumstances. But duty is not confined to individuals. There are public duties. In their associated capacity men do not lose their identity to such an extent that what would be wrong for them as individuals becomes right or excusable in association. The individual must distinguish between his duty when acting alone and for himself and when acting as an integral part of society. As a member of society he may be powerless to prevent wrongs which he would not personally commit. But he must not fail to protest against them. And it is most important that men should learn that what is wrong for an individual is equally wrong for a corporation or a State. And there are very few duties of the individual which are not equally the duties of the State. It is as wrong, for example, for the State to derive revenue from the liquor traffic as for the individual.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Der Jesuitenorden von seiner Gründung bis zur heutigen Zeit" (The Order of Jesuits from its Organization to the Present Day). By J. Dorneth. The Jesuit question is not so burning with us as it is with the Germans, although perhaps it ought to be. The book here mentioned is not intended to exhibit original research, but sprang from the purpose to show up in its true light the enemy which Protestant Christianity has to fear and which was, at the time of publication, seeking the legal right to exist in Germany. We venture the assertion that whoever will read this book, which ought to be translated or duplicated in English, will rise from its perusal with a profounder respect for Protestantism, a more thorough comprehension of the wickedness of Romanism, and a deeper dread than ever of the danger which threatens us. If ever the hypocrisy of Rome was made apparent it is in the history of the relation of the Order of Jesuits to the popes. The order was originated chiefly for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the pope in a time when Protestantism threatened to speedily capture the world. Among their earliest doctrines was that of papal infallibility; and it was through them that the blasphemous doctrine was finally promulgated by the Vatican Council in 1870. To-day the order is in the highest repute with the pope. But let us look back at the history. The popes upheld the order only when they thought they could get gain by so doing, and the Jesuits turned on the pope when he opposed them. In 1773 Pope Clement XIV said: "In consideration of the fact that it is utterly impossible, so long as the Society of Jesus exists, to secure the true and permanent peace of the Church, we do hereby, with mature reflection, on the basis of well-ascertained facts, and out of the full-

ness of our apostolic authority, abolish, suppress, blot out, and do away with the above-mentioned society." No sooner had this been done than the Jesuits began to deny the infallibility of the pope and to teach that princes should not be subject to him, but hold themselves responsible alone to God, and that even the appointment of the bishops should not be made by the popes. In 1814 Pius VII restored the order and declared that he would violate his duty if he should refuse the assistance of such experienced pilots while threatened every moment with shipwreck and death on so stormy a sea. Immediately the Jesuits again swore allegiance to the "infallible representative of Christ." Comment is needless.

"Das christliche Persönlichkeitsideal des Jacobus" (St. James's Ideal of Christian Personality). By Karl Pahncke. The author places the Epistle of James alongside of 1 Corinthians as a sort of supplement. In all that Paul has to say in 1 Corinthians he gradually proceeds to the goal of his purpose, which is to depict the ideal Christian congregation, portraying for all generations and all periods what is and what is not becoming in the Christian society. But James writes to describe the ideal Christian personality. It is not Christianity and not the individual Christian congregation, but the individual Christian as he should be, with which James is concerned. It is the piety of the individual, the "perfect man," of which he treats. Such is the declaration of the author in the first part of his book, and it is an attractive thought. The great difficulty with it is that the facts do not justify it. Some sort of an idea of a perfect man must have been in the mind of James or he would not have mentioned it. But the idea of a perfect man is not the ruling idea of the epistle. It deals by no means so much with what the Christian ought to be as with what he ought not to be. It is conceived in the true Old Testament fashion of "Thou shalt not." The apostle reminds us of the old Hebrew prophet rebuking the sins of God's people. There is in his language all the severity of the Old, and very little of the tenderness of the New, Testament, and at the same time he does not depict at all the possibilities of grace. The epistle certainly does not describe the Christian ideal, nor even the Christian ideal in the mind of James, except as he denounces in the most scathing terms the evils existing among those to whom he wrote, and thus by inference recommends the opposite virtues. These faults must be recognized in order that we may understand the epistle. He is not, as the title of the work under consideration would indicate, describing an ideal condition, whether for a congregation or for an individual; but he is meeting the actual conditions of the Jewish congregations of the dispersion. And as it is not an ideal condition which he aims to depict, so it is not a specifically Christian condition. There is, indeed, an expressed or implied reference to the Christian faith throughout the epistle. But what the apostle condemns would be likewise condemned by a Jew who was not a Christian at all. The Jewish Christians to whom he wrote seem to have deteriorated under the influence of the Gentiles among whom they lived.

"Die Eschatologie des Paulus" (The Pauline Eschatology). By R. Kabisch. In reading German books one is often impressed that their authors either began to write before they had fully determined their opinions, and so were led astray by some chance suggestion, or else started out with the distinct purpose of seeing what proof they could produce for an unexpected and unwarrantable position. Under which of these categories to place Kabisch's book we do not know. Certain it is that, when he makes death and sin to stand for personalities as truly as God is a personality, he is taking ground which no one who has not recklessly given himself up to folly would take. Nevertheless, there are some excellent things in his book, and for their sakes we mention it here. The principal proposition of the book is that for Paul the future is the essential element in the Christian consciousness. Salvation from the wrath to come, the eternal reward, separation from this mortal body appear everywhere as the final goal of his desire and thought. Paul's highest good is life; the greatest evil, death. By this life he means indestructibility; by death not spiritual, moral death, but extinction, which is the only punishment for sin which Paul knows. Death, extinction, annihilation are a reproach and a shame. Against this view of Paul's emphasis of eschatological facts Kabisch places what he calls the modern view, which dissipates the thought of reward as the spring of all moral effort, and makes the present possession of sanctification, justification, and grace not the means, but the end—the real salvation. He attempts to connect this so-called modern view with Kant's categorical imperative, which scorns all reward and recommends the doing of good for its own sake. We are not convinced that Kabisch is right in much of this; and we are quite certain that he is wrong in part. Yet there can be no doubt that he calls attention to a defect in modern theology and preaching. Not only Paul, but our Lord and all the writers of the New Testament, hold out as an inducement to virtue the hope of reward, and as a warning against vice the fear of punishment. In the days when this fact was fully recognized, perhaps even overemphasized, truth was more effective than it is to-day. Now we carry our thoughts of disinterested love and benevolence to such an extreme that it is almost shameful for us to acknowledge that we care anything whatever about the recompense of the reward. But such is not the spirit of the Gospel.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL

The Schools of Italy. Superintendent Oswald (of Germany) has recently written a little book on the public schools of Italy which is full of profoundest interest. The task of Italy in the matter of public education is gigantic. The climate has to be taken into consideration; and the mixture of races on Italian soil, with a large element in some localities of the oriental, has its influence also. But in the thirty years since Garibaldi landed at Marsala much has been accomplished. The obligatory course of study extends but three years; but it is something to have

secured even this. And still more important is it that those having taken this course of study enjoy advantages not accorded to others. Boys and girls who have gone through these years of study and have afterward served an apprenticeship in some occupation are given the preference by employers; the thus educated soldier is granted privileges withheld from others; and the right of suffrage in the cities is made dependent upon it. Besides, in the larger cities a more extensive course is encouraged; instead of three, the studies extend over five, years. After these years come the gymnasium schools, or the technical, industrial, or professional, open to both sexes. Normal schools are also open to girls. The principal defect, from the standpoint of the German author of whom we speak, is in the department of religious instruction. The pope does nothing to help in this cause, except in such a way as will serve to bind the young to his Church. Only in the schools which are under the influence of the Protestants of Italy is there any attempt at a genuine religious training. The Italian school authorities look upon religion as a mere moderating, not a leading, force. Hence the city schools are left free to do as they will concerning religious education. But the majority of the schools are without religious exercises, because the people, while loving religion, hate and fear the priests to whose care religious instruction in public schools is generally committed. Here is found the necessity of the Church schools, both Protestant and Romanist. The schools of the Jesuits stand very high, as do also those of the Waldenses, the latter being preferred by many on account of their loyalty to Italy.

A Monster Lay Petition. Ever since Pastor Schrenpf rose up in rebellion against the compulsory reading of the Apostles' Creed by those pastors who do not believe its tenets the agitation in Württemberg has been tremendous. A petition signed by eleven thousand five hundred and forty-four laymen was recently presented to the king. The petitioners are of the orthodox party, and they bewail the denial of so many of the fundamental doctrines of the faith, and also the negative attitude assumed by so many of the pastors toward the Bible. They do not find so much fault with the pastors as with the university professors. Nor do they expect speedily to repair the damage which has been done. But they propose a new professorship, which shall always be filled by one to their own liking, and a preachers' seminary, to be manned by orthodox professors, in which all candidates for the ministry shall spend at least one year prior to entering upon the duties of their office. The petitioners affirm that the chasm between the faith of the pastors and that of the congregations has reached the danger point. Of course, the petition raised a storm of opposition. It is asserted that it was circulated secretly, and such conduct is declared to be unevangelical and unprotestant. The opposition declare it to be a petition instigated by the orthodox pastors, and given out under the pretense that it sprang from the laity. The right of petition none will deny; and none who can put himself in the place of the petitioners will question that something needs to be done,

In this country the number and variety of the denominations makes the management of such cases comparatively easy. But in Germany the dread of schism is quite as great as the dread of heresy. The unity of the German Church is threatened by the intense strain now put upon it by the conflicts in theology.

Students' Conferences in Germany. The very frequent defection of students from Christianity has led to the establishment of students' conferences, whose purpose it is to assemble yearly all those students in German universities who feel the need of strengthening in the Christian faith, which object is to be attained by means of discussions with that end in view. The first of these conferences was held in the winter of 1889. At a recent session in Frankfort-am-Main, Count Pückler, of Berlin, one of the most earnest and active of Germany's younger Christian workers, acted as president. The purpose of the conference is not to work for the conversion of unbelievers among the students, but to confirm and strengthen those who are already believers, and thus to preserve them from the anti-Christian influences which so often prevail in university life. America could undoubtedly teach Germany much in a matter like this, as a comparison of their method with ours under similar circumstances will show.

Tobacco Interdicted in Persia. The heathen priests of the country have recently laid their interdict upon the use of tobacco, and the people obey the command. Not content therewith, they have begun a bitter crusade against the Christians, in which they invite the assistance of the Mohammedans. They can see no difference between the Christian preacher and Christian tobacco and brandy. Christianity is made responsible for the diabolical conduct of the sons of Christian countries. It is but little wonder that well-disposed heathen rise up against the civilization which carries in its wake opium, whisky, and tobacco. It is high time for earnest Christians of so-called Christian lands to demand that their governments shall prohibit the introduction of these degrading articles into countries where missionaries are preaching the Gospel.

The Protestant Association and Missions. This rationalistic society recently undertook to establish a missionary work, thereby to prove that it had the same spiritual energy as the orthodox Churches, and a far wiser and better method of carrying on the work. The results, however, have not been very encouraging. The deficit last year was 9,000 marks, and this year will be at least 10,000 marks. In order to avoid bankruptcy altogether the managers request the members to contribute one mark each, or at least a half mark. If this be not done they will be obliged to recall their missionaries. But recently this same society boasted of the great results it had accomplished. There was nothing in the principles of the German Protestant Association to warrant the expectation that its members would be zealous in endeavors to convert the world to Christ.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE interests of America—and chiefly that portion of the continent included within the territory of the United States—lie closest to the common heart of our readers. Without disparagement of that marvelous empire which radiates from the little British isles to the furthest bounds of the Australian sea, or of reorganized and rejuvenated France, or of the German Fatherland, the American heart puts America first in its affections. Believing in the prophecies that the Republic is to be the instrumentality particularly chosen for the advancement of Christianity throughout the world in the twentieth century, and conceding, perhaps too lightly, the tremendous responsibility thus laid upon the United States, we wait impatiently, as moralists and religionists, for the results of this great leadership. Three articles in the current reviews, discussing matters of American history and growth, will therefore appeal to the particular notice of readers of magazine literature.

In the *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, for July, is found a continuation of the discussion, "Were the Ancients Acquainted with America?" If not a subject of particular novelty, yet it will not soon grow threadbare. Its author, R. E. Blackwell, takes the negative position on the question, his conclusion, without his arguments, being to the following effect: "The Phœnicians possessed the enterprise, and though without the compass they were prepared chiefly for coast voyages, yet longer voyages than from the Canaries to America have been known to be made with no better equipments than they had. The case is certainly stronger for the Phœnicians than for the Greeks and Romans, primarily because we have not their literature of discoveries, and thus the imagination is not chained down to facts; but also because they were better seamen and did discover more than the Greeks and Romans. . . . We might thus account for all the stories about the continent west of Europe by the supposition that the Phœnicians discovered America and attempted, for commercial reasons, to keep the knowledge of it from getting abroad among the nations; and thus when the Phœnician power was destroyed only the vaguest reports of America remained to form the basis of myth and fable. In spite, however, of all that can be said in favor of such theories, the preponderance of evidence shows that the Canaries were the farthest westerly islands known to the ancients."

Of the divine direction over our national life the Rev. T. F. Dornblaser writes in the July number of the *Lutheran Quarterly*. His article, entitled "Providence in our History," while not particularly philosophical or scholarly, is yet reverent in its emphasis of the divine leadership. "America," he says, "with her free institutions and her increasing millions of liberty-loving citizens, is designed to lift her torch higher than all others in her beneficent mission of 'enlightening the world?' The theater of providence is transferred from the Old to the New World."

In the *North American Review* for August the leading article is by the Hon. Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior, who writes on "The Resources and Development of the South." This section of our territory he declares to be favored with "a climate pleasant in winter and not oppressive in summer, with a vast expanse of territory suited to every variety of agricultural pursuit, with limitless undeveloped wealth, with ample iron, coal, and lumber alongside of cotton fields." And while other parts of the land have outstripped it hitherto in acquiring wealth, this has been owing to conditions which no longer exist. For the first time "the whole resources of the South are to assert themselves, freed from any convincing influences." In proof of this the writer drops into bewildering figures. From Norfolk alone he states there is yearly shipped over \$6,000,000 worth of vegetables and fruits; the "annual output of the saw and planing mills grew in the period from 1880 to 1892 from \$38,000,000 to \$117,000,000;" since 1880 the coal production has increased from 3,000,000 to 25,000,000 bushels; the increase in the iron production has been 500 per cent since 1880; the manufacture of cotton has increased since 1880 from 342,048 to 2,171,147 spindles, and the value of the yearly product from \$16,350,000 to \$54,200,000. Such are a few of the bewildering figures with which the secretary enriches his article, and they justify the superlative words of Judge Kelley, that the South is "a country upon which the Almighty has with most lavish hand bestowed his richest material gifts."

THE *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July is weighty rather than striking. It opens with a lengthy article by Rev. A. A. Berle, on "The Bible as Authority and Index." Of the Scripture the writer concludes: "It is authority, but it is the authority of a spiritual force, spiritually apprehended. It is an index, but an index understood by the partakers of the experiences which have been interpreted. But out of both it comes a word of God." The second article, by Professor Theodor Zahn, D.D., of Erlangen, is the concluding portion of a paper on "The Adoration of Jesus in the Apostolic Age." Under the ambiguous title of "A New Method with an Old Problem" Professor E. H. Johnson, D.D., discusses whether justice or benevolence holds the primacy in the divine character and dealings. The fourth article, by the Rev. W. E. C. Wright, on "Christian Fellowship as Affected by Race," sets forth the fact that among American Congregationalists little heed is given to racial differences, except in "the relation of white Christians to negro Christians." Following this assertion the writer shows that the Congregationalists are burdened with the same vexed problem which is upon other denominations for settlement. The next article, by Rev. A. E. Thomson, on "Sin in This and Other Worlds," is a curious guess at truth. So far as sin relates itself to other planets the author substantially holds as follows: 1. There are reasons for believing that other worlds besides the earth are inhabited. 2. If those inhabitants have the power of moral choice they have the power of sinning, and are as likely to sin as we. 3. If they have sinned they must all be lost,

unless Christ has made atonement for them. 4. Christ has died but once. 5. It is not easy to understand how his atonement on Calvary is sufficient for the pardon of sinners in other parts of the universe. 6. The effects of sin are baneful, its cure is difficult, and the sinner is impotent. 7. This earth has a vicarious work to perform; "it suffers for the universe." The sixth article, by Professor J. C. Long, D.D., discusses "The Historic Episcopate," and concludes that in America there is no generally accepted hierarchy, but that in the pastors of thousands of churches is found a true historic episcopate. In the seventh article, on "Israel and the Gospel," Professor G. H. Schodde believes that "there never has been a period since the apostolic era when, in a large section of Judaism, the fullness of time seems so clearly to have come for the Jews as it has done at the present time. Here, too, the grain now seems to be ripe for the harvest." The concluding article, on "Recollections of Noah Porter," by Professor Jacob Cooper, D.D., is a delightful reminiscence of the great president of Yale.

THE *Century* for August is called the "Midsummer Holiday Number," and is a charming companion for the seaside or the mountains. Its opening paper, by F. Marion Crawford, on "Washington as a Spectacle," describes some phases of life in the most fascinating of American cities. The conclusion of "A Cumberland Vendetta," by John Fox, Jr., is contained in this number. The fourth installment of "Across Asia on a Bicycle," by Messrs. Allen and Sachtleben, follows, with some of the twenty-five hundred kodak views which they took on their memorable journey. In a paper on "Poe in the South" certain selections are given from the correspondence of the great poet, formerly in the possession of Dr. Griswold. They do not greatly redound to Poe's credit. "Dr. Morton's Discovery of Anæsthesia" is an intensely interesting account of the first use of ether in surgical operations, and puts the tardy crown upon the head of a discoverer whose honors have been disputed. A debate on woman suffrage, by Senator G. F. Hoar and Dr. J. M. Buckley, will attract attention for its timeliness and vigor. The senator advocates the extension of suffrage to woman and says, "When she shall be admitted to complete citizenship these qualities of American womanhood will become more and more the qualities of American citizenship itself."

THE *Edinburgh Review* for July has as its table of contents: 1. "Lives of Dr. Pusey and Dean Stanley;" 2. "Old Dorset;" 3. "Memoirs of an Internuncio;" 4. "The Verdict of the Monuments;" 5. "Marcella;" 6. "Death in Classical Antiquity;" 7. "Secret Negotiations of Marlborough and Berwick;" 8. "Bonney's Story of our Planet;" 9. "The Arabian Horse;" 10. "The Letters of Harriet, Countess Granville;" 11. "The Ministry of the Masses." In comparing the two great Oxonians noticed in the first article the writer says: "Pusey is, and must continue to remain, the representative of a Church and creed altogether alien to the great body of our countrymen; while Stanley will be found to minister to the imperative wants of their religious culture and aspiration,

for an indefinite future." The second article reviews Mr. Moule's *Old Dorset: Chapters in the History of the County*, and has naturally but a local interest. The initial sentence in "Memoirs of an Internuncio" is a clew to the whole review: "The curious work which is the subject of this article is of very exceptional interest, because it contains so many graphic details of events wherein Mgr. de Salamon bore a part during the Reign of Terror and under the government of the Directory." The fourth article reviews the recent work of Dr. Sayce on the testimony of the ancient monuments to the truth of the Hebrew Scriptures. Whatever the merits of the case may be, the critic is sufficiently iconoclastic for all purposes. He finds it impossible to regard Dr. Sayce's volume as of "permanent literary value, on account of the many unsound and paradoxical statements that mar almost every page, representing views which are not generally accepted as final results, and ignoring knowledge which is contradictory to those views." Whoever is interested in Mrs. Humphrey Ward and her multiplying novels will appreciate the review of *Marcella*, which constitutes the fifth article. As regards the Grecian and Roman ideas of the future life, the writer of the next article finds that their views were most varied: "Without mentioning the Skeptics, there were those who believed that the soul lived in the tomb, or in hades, or in both places at the same time; others, that it had to go through a probation of many lives on earth, that it returned to the ether whence it came, or that it dwelt with the gods." The seventh article deals with a matter of diplomacy long since antiquated, the period covered being 1708, 1709. The eighth article is a review of a work on geology. The ninth sets forth the merits of the far-famed Arabian steed. The writer of the tenth article finds in the Countess Granville "a female counterpart to Horace Walpole" as to her society pictures, the difference between their letters being that Walpole wrote in a finished elegance, while the letters of the countess were "perfectly natural, and their publication was probably the last thing that she ever contemplated." In the biography by her son, now issued, we have "a genuine portrait of one of the most distinguished women of her time," and a "comprehensive survey of society in the most brilliant period of the nineteenth century." The final article, based upon certain recent speeches of Balfour, Harcourt, and the Duke of Devonshire, is a suggestion of possibly impending changes in the methods of English politics. After noticing the tendency of the ministry toward electioneering the writer concludes: "The political situation is evidently transitional, and the country is not likely to rest contented till statesmanship of a different order is once more in the ascendant."

THE *Critical Review*, like the *Edinburgh*, is devoted to extended notices of current books. Among the volumes reviewed in the July number are: 1. Drummond's *Ascent of Man*, whose definition of evolution as "the gradual unfolding of the divine plan as regards all things physical, mental, moral, social, religious," Professor J. G. McKendrick thinks "will not commend itself to many thoroughgoing evolutionists." 2. Knight's

Aspects of Theism, which Professor A. B. Bruce recommends as "popular without being superficial," and "at once strictly philosophical and genuinely poetical." 3. Reusch's *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, treating of "subjects which the Jesuits prefer to leave untouched, and to see untouched by others." Among these is the "doctrine of the assassination of tyrants." 4. Upton's *Lectures on the Bases of Religious Belief*. 5. Kidd's *Social Evolution*, which A. T. Innes, of Edinburgh, finds a "rich and suggestive book," although it is "one more instance of rapid and premature crystallization—crystallization around a tempting paradox." 6. Pfeiderer's *Philosophy and Development of Religion*, constituting the Gifford Lectures before the University of Edinburgh, 1894. 7. Marson's *The Psalms at Work*, whose aim is "to exhibit the influence of the Psalms on the mind of Christendom." 8. Iverach's *Christianity and Evolution*, which shows that evolution, so far as it is scientifically established, "conflicts neither with theism, nor with the distinctive spiritual nature of man, nor with supernatural revelation." 9. Cave's *The Spiritual World*. 10. Conybeare's *Monuments of Early Christianity*, in which the author, translating from the Armenian, gives "an insight into the practical working of Christianity during the first three centuries of its history." 11. Budé's *Vie de Jacob Vernet*, the distinguished theologian of Geneva. 12. Spitta's *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums*, which is another microscopic search after New Testament errors by a critical scholar. 13. Smith's *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, which Major C. R. Conder pronounces "among the most scholarly yet published." 14. Arthur's *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, whose style "lacks lucidity," but which is "anything but dull reading." 15. *Report and Papers of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Society of Church History*. 16. Kerr Bain's sermons, entitled, *For Heart and Life*. 17. Houston's *The Daughter of Leontius*. 18. *Fallen Angels*, by "one of them," which undertakes the tremendous task of discovering "why the earth, that is the Lord's, with the fullness thereof, should be full of rapine, violence, cruelty, suffering, and misery." 19. Weiss's *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Blass's *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, and Weiss's *Die Johannes-Apokalypse*. 20. Mirbt's *die Wahl Gregors VII.*, in which the author examines the question as to whether the election of Hildebrand to the papacy was canonically valid—an inquiry which impresses the reader as a little tardy, inasmuch as the great pope has been dead for over eight centuries!

THE *Missionary Review* for August opens with an article on "The Real and the Romantic in Missions," by Dr. A. T. Pierson. Taking the recent work by James Johnston, M.D., on mission work in South Central Africa, as the basis of his article, Dr. Pierson aims to show that the book gives an incorrect impression of Christian progress in that distant land. As a whole it is "a mistake," and "those who would get at the complete truth as to African missions must listen to the testimony of other witnesses

besides the author of *Reality versus Romance*." The Rev. A. H. Smith, of Shantung, China, writes the first of two papers on "Time as a Factor in Christian Missions." Mrs. A. R. Fenn, of Madrid, follows with a brief narration of needs in the "Chamberi Evangelical Mission, Madrid, Spain." Some wholesome words on the right training of missionaries are spoken by Dr. F. F. Ellinwood, in his paper on "The Place of Higher Education in Missionary Work." The Rev. James Douglas, of London, gives his third paper on the "Unoccupied Mission Fields of the World," treating particularly of the needs of Africa and South America. The latter, he says, "has with justice been termed the most neglected continent in the world." The Rev. S. A. Moffett discusses "Practical Confucianism and Practical Christianity in Korea." After describing the indifference to the aged sick and the dishonor to the dead which he had witnessed he concludes, "Theoretical Confucianism contrasted with Christianity in a Parliament of Religions at Chicago is one thing; practical Confucianism illustrated in Korea is quite another." The final contributions are on "Missionary Work in Northern Bulgaria," by Rev. L. T. Guild, and "The McAll Mission," by Louisa S. Houghton. The editorial departments which follow are full and entertaining, particularly noticeable being the account of the eleventh annual meeting of the International Missionary Union, at Clifton Springs, N. Y., June 13-20.

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* for July contains: 1. "The Place of Christ in Modern Theology," by Robert Watts, D.D., LL.D.; 2. "Side-Lights on the Correlation between Thoughts and Words," by H. C. Alexander, D.D.; 3. "The Original Manuscript of the Pentateuch," by H. A. White, D.D.; 4. "The Power of the People in the Government of the Church," by W. A. Campbell, D.D.; 5. "Addison Once More," by C. A. Smith, D.D. The first article is a discriminating review of Principal Fairbairn's great work. The second paper is a close discussion in the domain of metaphysics. In the third article Dr. White defines his own position on the subject discussed as follows: "We prefer still the theory of an original autograph of the Pentateuch by Moses. This theory does not deny the credibility of Old Testament history; it accepts the story of the Jewish race in the order in which it was recorded by inspired scribes; it calls not for assistance from any philosophical or linguistic hypotheses; it accepts the testimony of the Church as strong evidence in support of its claims, though not inspired and conclusive evidence. Moreover, a belief in the Mosaic autograph underlies the piety of many princes in Israel of the past, as well as of the present." The fourth paper is a discussion of a certain phase of Presbyterian polity, involving principles which prevail in general ecclesiastical law. A great literary light of the eighteenth century is noticed in the last article. The writer holds that, while Addison was "not one of the world's great men," he did a great work. The doings of the late General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, South, at Macon, are also interestingly set forth in the editorial notes.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible: showing every Word of the Text of the Common English Version of the Canonical Books, and every Occurrence of each Word in Regular Order; together with a Comparative Concordance of the Authorized and Revised Versions, including the American Variations; also Brief Dictionaries of the Hebrew and Greek Words of the Original, with References to the English Words. By JAMES STRONG, S.T.D., LL.D. Quarto, pp. 1,809. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, \$6; half Russia, \$8; half Morocco, \$10—net.

The world of to-day is a very large one, and has a tendency to rapidly increase its proportions. The amount of information offered by book, magazine, and newspaper is fairly bewildering; and each of us must dismiss a large share thereof with only a casual glance. The rest of it is indexed and laid away for future reference. It is well, indeed, to develop the memory; but one despairs of retaining even a tithe of such information as can be utilized. Indexes are, therefore, in order. A concordance is an index of the Bible, and, if correct, a most useful aid to the student thereof. The probabilities of correctness in the volume before us will be considered below. A concordance, however, is not all that Dr. Strong has included in his work, but, as the title shows, there are two concordances and two dictionaries. Of these we shall write in order.

I. *The Main Concordance*. This is, of course, the main feature of the work, and upon its excellence depends the value of the whole. Two things are absolutely essential to a good concordance—completeness and facility of reference. Dr. Strong entered upon the task of making his concordance with these two features well in mind. We use the word "making" intentionally, as opposed to "compiling," for his is an original work and depends upon no other concordance for its material. This is not a readjustment of material furnished by the older concordances. It may interest the reader of this article to be made acquainted with the method pursued by our author. The Bible was divided into sections and assigned to his helpers. A list of unimportant particles was made, to be referred to merely by chapter and verse, with a superior figure signifying how many times the word occurred in each verse. Thus, under "the," "Ge 1:1" indicates that the word appears three times in the first verse of the first chapter of Genesis. All such references are excluded from the main concordance, and are found by themselves on pages 1220-1240. While the principal reason for this part of the work is to make good the claim to exhaustiveness, yet there are uses to which it may be profitably put. Outside of this list of particles all words were written with their contexts, and care was taken to make as complete a sentence as possible. Thus the manuscript was made directly from the text. When it was completed each word was placed in its alphabetical order. Then followed the work of revision, the standard of which was the *Parallel Bible*, large octavo, published at Oxford, England, 1886. Each passage was searched

out afresh in the Bible. The reference figures and the words were carefully compared, the line was checked on the margin of the manuscript, and the word at that place was erased with a pencil-mark on the face of the Bible. The unerased words were copied out and inserted in their proper place, and perfect completeness and accuracy was insured to the manuscript. While going through the press the same process of verification was repeated, the author reading the proofs twice or thrice. In order to show the superiority of this concordance in completeness and ease of reference a comparison is given between it and the concordances of Cruden and Young. The passage selected at random is Jer. xxxii, 10: "And I subscribed the evidence, and sealed it, and took witnesses, and weighed him the money in the balances." The references are under the following eight words: 1. "subscribed;" 2. "evidence;" 3. "sealed;" 4. "took;" 5. "witnesses;" 6. "weighed;" 7. "money;" 8. "balances."

STRONG.

1. "I *s* the evidence, and sealed it,"
2. "I subscribed the *e*, and sealed it,"
3. "subscribed the evidence, and *s* it,"
4. "and sealed it, and *t* witnesses,"
5. "evidence, and sealed it, and took *w*,"
6. "*w* him the money in the balances,"
7. "weighed him the *m* in the balances,"
8. "weighed him the money in the *b*."

CRUDEN.

1. "I *s* the evidence, and sealed it"
2. "I subscribed the *e* and sealed it"
3. "I subscribed and *s* the evidence"
4. No reference given.
5. "I sealed the evidence and took *w*."
6. No reference given.
7. Referred to under verse 9.
8. "I weighed him the money in the *b*." The word, however, is not in its alphabetical order, following "bald," "baldness," etc.

YOUNG.

1. "Subscribed" given, but under "subscribe."
2. "I subscribed the evidence, and sealed (it)"
3. "Sealed" given, but under "seal."
4. "Took" is given under "take," but this passage is not referred to.
5. "Witnesses" is given under "witness."
6. "Weighed" is given under "weigh."
7. "and weighed . . . the money in the balances"
8. "weighed . . . the money in the balances"

Of the eight words by which one might expect to find the passage Dr. Strong gives all, each under its own heading, and with an exact quota-

tion of Scripture. Cruden gives three exact quotations, two inexact quotations, one indirect reference, and has two omissions. Young gives three direct references, four indirect (under another word), and omits any reference to "took."

Another advantage possessed by this concordance is its absolutely alphabetical arrangement. Take "hear" and its derivatives as an illustration. Dr. Strong arranges them as follows: "hear," "heard," "hearest," "hearer," "hearers," "hearest," "heareth," and "hearing." Dr. Young has the following arrangement: "hear" (under which are also given references to "heard," "hearest," "heareth," and "hearing"), "to cause to hear," "to let hear," "to make to hear," "to hear tell," "to hear before," "to neglect to hear," "heard," "which . . . heard," "to be heard," "to cause to be heard," "to let . . . be heard," "to make to be heard," "hearer" (under which is included "hearers"), "hearing," "to be dull of hearing," and "place of hearing." Cruden also arranges most arbitrarily: "hear," "hear me," "hear not or not hear," "would not hear," "hear now or now hear," "shall hear," "will hear," "hear the word of the Lord," "heard," "I have heard," etc. Of course we understand the plan of Dr. Young in following the words of the original; but to the English reader it is very puzzling. For example, we wish to find the passage, "Restore that which he took violently away" (Lev. vi, 4). We refer to "took" in Dr. Young's Concordance and find only one reference, with nothing to indicate that the word occurs more than once in the Bible. We bethink ourselves of "take," and in its eighty-third division we find our wished-for reference. We have meantime gone over the Old and New Testaments, and found the words "take," "taken," "takest," "taketh," and "took." We see, however, that there are fifty-seven more divisions, and comfort ourselves that our reference was not postponed to the one hundred and fortieth.

II. *The Comparative Concordance.* This is a very helpful portion of the work, showing as it does the various readings of the Authorized and Revised Versions. Thus, if one is reading 2 Cor. x, 1, and wishes to know whether the Revised Version has, in this verse, another rendering for the word "base," he consults the Main Concordance and finds that the quotation is followed by an asterisk (*), signifying that there is a difference. Turning to the Comparative Concordance, he sees that the Revised Version has "lowly." Or, if reading in the Revised Version, "I made supplication for thee" (Luke xxii, 32), he finds by reference to the Comparative Concordance that the Authorized uses "have prayed."

III. Next follow concise dictionaries of the Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament. These dictionaries are made invaluable by having a number attached to each Hebrew and Greek word, which number will be found in the Concordance opposite its corresponding English word, in Roman type if for a Hebrew word, and in italic if for a Greek word. To those familiar with Hebrew and Greek the dictionaries are of great service; but they may also be used by those who are familiar with the English alone. Thus if one refers to "strive" in Exod. xxi, 22, he will find the number

"5,327." Turning to this number in the Hebrew Dictionary, he learns that the verb translated "strive" means *to go forth, to be expelled*, and has the derivative meaning of *to quarrel*. The Hebrew Dictionary contains 8,674 words, and the Greek Dictionary 5,624. Following the Hebrew Dictionary is a valuable table showing the places where the Hebrew and English Bibles differ in the division of chapter and verse.

Having considered the several portions of the work, let us summarize the method of using it. Suppose that one wishes to find the location in Scripture of the passage, "Let them be ashamed and confounded together that seek after my soul to destroy it." The Main Concordance, under the word "ashamed," shows the place to be Psalm xl, 14. After the quotation he sees a double obelisk (‡), indicating that the American revisers recommended a different rendering. Turning to the Comparative Concordance, that rendering is found to be "put to shame." Had there been a single obelisk (†) it would have indicated a change of rendering agreed to by the English revisers alone. An asterisk (*) would also show a change of rendering, but one agreed to by all the revisers. The number "954," in Roman type, following the quotation, refers to the Hebrew Dictionary, under which number the reader is told that the Hebrew word translated "ashamed" is בֹּשָׁם, *boosh*—properly, *to pale*; by implication, *to be ashamed*; also, *to be disappointed or delayed*, etc. Surely a work which places in one's hand so much information and makes it so accessible will be highly appreciated. One need have little of the prophetic gift to venture the prediction that this volume will speedily take the place of all other large concordances in the studies of well-informed men. Its history abounds in romantic elements. It is a history of mental and mechanical labor extending over thirty years. Very pleasant is it to recall those employed at various times in its construction; the slowly growing manuscript, gradually assuming remarkable proportions; the many suggested arrangements of the materials accumulated; the additional features constantly presenting themselves to the mind of the author; and to view at last the accomplished work which rewards his magnificent scholarship. But greater than all was the author himself, patient in labor, genial to his collaborators, apt in anticipating the needs of those requiring such a work, sanguine of its ultimate success, and possessed of faith in the appreciation of the public. For all this the world is now the richer. The lamented author, in this magnificent achievement, has left us a final proof of his long-recognized ability and scholarship. We congratulate those who shall become the happy possessors of the book. We congratulate the publishers upon the opportunity of placing their imprint on its title-page, and upon the typographical excellence of the volume.

Systematic Theology. By JOHN MILEY, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. Vol. II, 8vo, pp. 537. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, \$3.

Methodism may well be thankful that, in the ripeness of his years and with powers unimpaired, Professor Miley has been spared to put into permanent form for the use of the Church his exposition of the victorious

Wesleyan-Arminian belief. For a generation the Church has been looking for a modern restatement of its teaching, and has eagerly scanned each new writing in the hope that it might fill the waiting place. Professor Miley's work in the first volume seemed so satisfactory that, almost before the ink was dry, it was placed upon the Conference Course of Study for Methodist preachers. And the second volume has enjoyed the unique compliment of being anticipatively placed upon the same list two years before it was published. That this action commends itself to the Church is an indication of the esteem in which the writer is held.

An indication of the modernness of the author's outlook meets us on the very threshold in the reality with which he strives to present the human nature of Christ. There is great significance in the way in which studies in the consciousness of Jesus are coming to displace the former abstract and far-away discussions of the God-man nature. The mysteries of this latter phenomenon are profound, and may seem well-nigh inexplicable. But there is a promise of some measure of success to every intelligent, sympathetic man who shall try to realize how the progressive manifestation of the divine in Jesus seemed to himself. Such studies are inspiring and practical; and here Professor Miley's work is excellent. His chapter on "The Sympathy of Christ," which is really the efflorescence of his Christological discussion, is exceedingly real, timely, and valuable. It is comparatively new ground. Little of worth has been written concerning it. The subject is in need of much further development, not along the lines of the older sentimentality, nor of the later loose conceptions of a vague pity in the heart of Jesus, but in the direction of a clearer realization of the consciousness of the ultimate suffering God, who cannot rest while his creatures sin and suffer. Professor Miley has done a vast amount of careful and discriminating thinking upon this point, and his results are stimulating and suggestive.

His now standard work on *The Atonement in Christ* is, of course, substantially incorporated in the present volume. A recent visit to a certain Calvinistic theological seminary disclosed the fact that most of the students owned a copy of that work, which they were quietly coming to regard as indispensable. There has been a feeling that Calvinism was necessarily harsh because based upon justice, and that Arminianism was somewhat unsafe because based upon an overestimate of God's love and mercy. Professor Miley's work does much to establish the reverse, and to prove that justice is the chief claim and ground of Arminian teaching. His presentation of the governmental theory of the atonement includes all that is valuable in the moral influence theory, and excludes the monstrous assumptions and inconsistencies of the satisfaction theory. And yet it does leave us with the wish that it had a little more weight and content. We are aware of the danger of this wish. Such an instinct in the past has driven thinkers to the "satisfaction" and "commercial" theories. And we suspect that the remedy will come in connection with the psychological tendencies of our day; that sin will come to be regarded less forensically and more pathologically; and that the "at-one-ment"

with God will be very little considered in its formal bearings, but rather as the restoration of the original outworking through man of the indwelling God. Meanwhile, so far as facing the older controversies goes, Miley's governmental theory is satisfactory and final.

And now, looking to a reception of the benefit of the atonement by the individual, the author follows with a really great chapter on man's "Freedom of Choice." The preliminary discussion of the will, in the main, follows Whedon, as does also the excellent discussion of motives (those external or internal forces or considerations moving the will to a choice) and of the ruling motive—the strongest of the single motives or their resultant. The great difficulty has always been to ascribe to the will the creative power of acting above and contrary to motive, without, on the other hand, emptying it of significance until it becomes the operation of a mere freakish fiat. It is at this point that Professor Miley makes a strong and inspiring picture of the intrinsic manhood, rational and godlike, rising up to assert itself; liable, indeed, to the weakness of proving inadequate to cope with adverse motives, and yet originally designed to be true to itself in the face of all motives and helped under grace to be again thus victoriously true. It is, after all, the cold paring down of the soul to purely formal elements for convenience of discussion that has given the hopeless aspect to discussions of the will. But the conception of the vital, energizing soul, of a nature instinct with active, penetrative force, sweeps away such imaginary helplessness, as a living person will often step in among discouraging impossibilities and with a smile and a stroke banish them all. This is the reason why, when philosophers have denied responsibility and freedom, the unlearned have always known that they could do right if they would, and have felt self-condemned when they did wrong. This is why Arminianism has always commended itself to the common people and to the unprejudiced. Purely formal thinkers and system-makers are apt to overlook the fact that the living soul will act vitally, and that the universal instinct of ideality is simply an irrepressible striving after a choice of the intrinsically highest and best. There is hope and help in this chapter of Professor Miley's. And, in this connection, it is an encouraging sign of our time to note that one of our profoundest thinkers, Professor Ormond, of Princeton University, has just published a volume, *Basal Concepts in Philosophy*, with the professed aim of introducing a greater consideration of vital energy as an element of philosophic thought. He would regard the soul, not as a dead subject lying upon the dissecting table, but rather as a trained athlete stripped for the contest.

The same instinct for reality is manifest in the discussion of justification. The purely forensic has little charm for this theologian of ours. In his treatment of sanctification he seems to see how much has been done by unwise discussion and profession to bring a great and needed teaching into disrepute. He gives great consideration to modern phases of the preaching of this doctrine; but he wisely discredits the "second-blessing" theory as degrading the conception of the new birth in order to pave the

way for the magnifying of other experience. That the new birth may fail of its full achievement he concedes, and the experience of a second blessing he regards as possible and frequent; but he declines to regard this as the normal expectation, and does not interpret Mr. Wesley as exclusively maintaining it. In the discussion of baptism we are glad to note the emphasis on infant baptism and Church membership as rights of Christian childhood. The discussion of the intermediate state is rather odd. The author says: "We find no clear light upon this subject in the Old Testament. . . . Even in the eschatology of the New Testament we find nothing decisive on this question. . . . In the earlier history of the Church the doctrine of an intermediate place was widely held. . . . But the Churches of the Reformation rejected it." And then, leaving the question open, he goes on through a whole chapter to describe what, if an intermediate state exists at all, it is and what it is not. We suspect that a little healthy agnosticism on some points which the older theologians were so sure of has been no bad thing in the development of Methodist doctrine. The premillennial coming of Christ finds in Dr. Miley no countenance. It never has been a Methodist doctrine. His statements ought to be a healthy antidote to the feverish and unhealthy motives to missionary and evangelistic activity that are just now being so vigorously emphasized in some quarters. Methodists believe in the sufficiency of the ministry and power of the Holy Ghost. While accepting the recorded view of future punishment, the author says that the Scriptures are the only sufficient source of our knowledge of its duration, and that this knowledge mainly hangs upon the significance of *αἰών* and its derivatives. We think we see signs of a less emphatic use of the word "future punishment" and of an increasing use of the expression "future condition," as corresponding to the needs of modern orthodox belief. The discussion of the inspiration of the Scriptures in the Appendix is unsatisfactory. It gives the conventional theories, and is sufficiently reasonable in its remarks upon them. But it does not touch with any living connection the questions that are seething and burning in the minds of our younger scholars and thinkers. Probably Professor Miley feels that these questions are far from being settled, and that in their present crude condition it is not best to enter upon a discussion which he cannot hope to finish. Certainly none who know him will imagine that he would wish to withhold his brethren from the most searching investigation of these matters. But we feel that with characteristic modesty he has underestimated the value to the Church of a statement from his pen looking away from the past and into the future. It would have heartened many a worried soul.

Professor Miley's style is always real. It means something to both reader and writer. Occasionally he will half state a truth and leave one in suspense while he restates it from another standpoint. But he is never vague nor double in his use of terms. His analysis is wonderfully minute, and his table of contents a great help in grasping and remembering the book, though occasionally he seems to overanalyze. We said at the outset that the merits of his *Systematic Theology* has been largely taken for granted

in advance. There is a significance in this. The first volume, valuable as it was, has excited but little discussion. This means that Arminian theology, while practically victorious everywhere, is not now facing living issues as it once did. It is impossible to read Watson without feeling that he is in the thick of the fray. The reader of Miley must call up from his knowledge of history the foes that are there controverted. He has never seen them; they are dumb, or dead. His work is good, great, true, and contains that which will enable us to wage war and win victories—but not in the old way. It is historic, not prophetic. The foe is not now the grim, iron, Calvinistic faith; it is the no-faith of a busy, concrete world. The men and problems that our faith must master are not in books; they are in the spirit of the time. The whole creation groaneth and travaileth together again in the birth of the new era. It is in the shop, the mine, the field, the corporation chamber, the *salon*, the slum, the college, in agitators' assemblies, and in dramshops that we have now to conquer. The old formation must break up and array itself against the foes of to-day. We have the truth. We are hampered by no crippling errors. And in the more human presentation of the Son of man, who was also the Son of God, and in the more ethical applications of his teaching to the needs of to-day, we shall seek the answer to our prayer—"Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven." Its test will be the words of John: "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" Not until this re-formation shall have passed into history are we likely to have another great restatement of our faith, and never one more manly and straightforward. May we be as true to the calling of our day as the record of Professor Miley shows our fathers to have been to theirs!

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Social Evolution. By BENJAMIN KIDD. 8vo, pp. 348. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, \$2.50.

It is not difficult to understand why this powerful book, by a new author, has achieved a prompt success, commanding general and respectful attention. It opens thus: "To the thoughtful mind the outlook at the close of the nineteenth century is profoundly interesting. History can furnish us no parallel to it. The problems which loom across the threshold of the new century surpass in magnitude any that civilization has hitherto had to encounter. We seem to have reached a time in which there is abroad in men's minds an instinctive feeling that a definite stage in the evolution of Western civilization is drawing to a close, and that we are entering on a new era." The book concerns itself, in a serious, dignified, and able manner, with some of these looming problems. Asserting that there is as yet no science of human society, properly so called, and that the larger part of the present century's work in sociology has been merely destructive, it proceeds to grapple in a vigorous and suffi-

ciently original way with unsolved problems; and by a constructive argument, fitly framed together from a broad and intelligent study of the facts of the social situation and of the literature of the subject, it presents clearly and forcibly the author's conclusions. It has assumptions and assertions with which many readers will disagree. We do not believe that man as a social creature is more important than man as an individual—quite the reverse. Social evolution is best promoted by a just recognition and development of the individual. Mr. Kidd criticises sharply such authorities as Huxley and Spencer. Of the former he says that the result of his writing on social questions is to send his readers on their way with, for guiding principle, no particular faith or hope in anything. As to the latter, he regrets that Mr. Spencer did not wait till he knew more and had matured his thinking before beginning to write the *Synthetic Philosophy*; he should have postponed it until "his intellect had an opportunity of realizing the full transforming effect, in the higher regions of thought, and more particularly in the department of sociology, of that development of biological science which began with Darwin, which is still in full progress, and to which Professor Weismann has recently made the most notable contributions." This charge of immaturity and haste which the author makes against Herbert Spencer's *magnum opus* is quickly visited upon his own head by a Scotch reviewer, who says, "Mr. Kidd's book, admirable alike in its materials and in its motives, is apparently one more instance of rapid and premature crystallization—crystallization around a tempting paradox." The author quotes Professor Huxley as saying that, if there is no hope of a large improvement of the greater part of the human family, a kindly comet that should destroy the earth's inhabitants would be a desirable visitor. He quotes Henry George: "It is my deliberate opinion that if, standing on the threshold of being, one were given the choice of entering life as a Terra del Fuegan, a Black Fellow of Australia, an Esquimaux in the Arctic Circle, or among the lowest classes in such a highly civilized country as Great Britain, he would make infinitely the better choice in selecting the lot of the savage." The chapter headings afford an idea of the line of thought: "The Outlook;" "Conditions of Human Progress;" "There is no Rational Sanction for the Conditions of Progress;" "The Central Feature of Human History;" "The Function of Religious Beliefs in the Evolution of Society;" "Western Civilization;" "Modern Socialism;" "Human Evolution is not Primarily Intellectual." The author has been taken to task for implying that religion is antirational, or opposed to the conclusions of reason. We do not so understand him. His main point is that the human reason alone cannot present any authority or sanction sufficient to control human conduct in a way to solve the painful and perplexing social problem. Society can never approximate the ideal or the necessary social condition except by the impulse and guidance of religion, which alone brings motives, influences, principles, and sanctions sufficient for the tremendous task. Mr. Kidd concludes thus: "The fact of our time which overshadows all others is the arrival of democracy. But

the perception of the fact is of relatively little importance if we do not also understand that it is a new democracy. There are many who speak of the new ruler of nations as if he were the same idle *demos* whose ears the dishonest courtiers have tickled from time immemorial. It is not so. Even those who attempt to lead him do not yet quite understand him. Those who think that he is about to bring chaos instead of order do not rightly apprehend the nature of his strength. They do not perceive that his arrival is the crowning result of an ethical movement, in which qualities and attributes which we have all been taught to regard as the very highest of which human nature is capable find the completest expression they have ever reached in the history of the race."

Substance and Shadow; or, The Real and Unreal. By JOHN C. HOLMES, M.D. With an Introduction by WINFIELD S. McCOWAN, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 255. New York: Printed for the author by Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

Here is an unexpected volume from the pen of a busy physician. While the medical profession, "from Hippocrates and Galen to Oliver Wendell Holmes," are not altogether strangers to the world of letters, yet for the most part their lives are too crowded with action and consecration to the demands of human life in jeopardy to permit their general enlistment in the ranks of authorship. That the present writer has had the inclination to traverse ground without the bounds of medical literature and has found opportunity to publish his present volume is, therefore, no small credit to his industry. The book that he edits consists of a series of brief papers on a great variety of subjects, which have no vital connecting link, but which are here grouped in a common association. The title, "Substance and Shadow," which is attached to the first essay, gives name to the volume, the thought of the writer being that shadow always suggests a substance, or that things seen argue for the invisible, the divine, the eternal. The whole book is a record, too seldom opened to the public view, of a physician's meditations on the great subjects of existence, manhood, death, spiritism, immortality, written by one in too close touch with the great problems of existence and destiny to be aught but reflective and serious. An extract at random from the author's table of contents shows that his twenty-seven chapters include such miscellaneous topics as "The Land of the Veda and Christian America," "Choosing an Occupation," "The Walk an Index of Character," "Creation of the Earth as Described by Pagan Writers," "The Intermediate State." In general the essays show the long exercise of those trained powers of observation which mark the skilled physician and make him a leader among men. It might be possible to offer criticism upon the structure of some of the papers; and it would certainly be appropriate to protest against the insertion of dissecting-room, deathbed, and ghost stories in a volume for general reading, did not the moral sought justify the writing of such gruesome tales. The book, in a word, is a tribute to the scholarship and intellectual force of Dr. Holmes. It is discursive, inquiring, philosophical, and, best of all, is a reverent acknowledgment

of man's spiritual nature and of the reality of that invisible realm whither the pilgrimage of life clearly tends.

The Credentials of Science the Warrant of Faith. By JOSIAH PARSONS COOKE, LL.D., Erving Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in Harvard University. Second edition. 8vo, pp. 325. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Price, cloth, \$2.

Lord Bacon wrote, "Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested." Professor Cooke's volume belongs to the third of these classes. Its theme is for a lifetime, and its argument is one to be studied and restudied without end. It is a great book, more weighty, conclusive, and convincing than *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, and a worthy mate for that notable piece of suggestive reasoning, *The Unseen Universe*. This second edition was urgently needed, for the first was so nearly out of market that there was difficulty in finding a copy. It is a contribution of permanent value to the thought of the world. In it an eminent scientist declares and shows that from a scientific standpoint it is clear that the premises of theology are as solid and its conclusions as valid as those of physical science. The book is well described in the author's Preface: "The motive of the work is indicated by the title, the chief argument being that the popular objections to Christian beliefs might be urged with equal force against each of the predominant systems of science of the present day, and are the necessary result of the limitations of our human knowledge; that, so far from proving the inconsequence of our religious beliefs, the oppositions so greatly magnified plainly point to a condition in which the limitations that now narrow our vision will be removed. In following out this argument the author has discussed the basis of scientific systems; the modes of thought distinguished as induction and deduction, by which general principles have been apprehended and their scope constantly widened; the significance of the so-called laws of nature; the validity of the prevailing theories or systems of science; and the predominant principles of scientific thought." If any busy man has time for only one chapter of the book, let him read the last of the ten, "The Systems Compared—Religion and Science." We wish we could present a copy to every skeptic who takes the trouble to examine and think. We wish there were some authority to command the book into every parsonage in the land. It is full of weapons and ammunition for the pulpit and the lecture room. Whoever of the Lord's sharpshooters cares to fill his cartridge belt with forty rounds against foes of the faith, let him resort hither and he will be able to load and fire with telling effect.

Outline Study of Law. By ISAAC FRANKLIN RUSSELL, D.C.L., LL.D., Professor in the University of the City of New York. 8vo, pp. 280. New York: L. K. Strouse & Co. Price, sheep, \$2.

The ignorance of the general public as to the nature and scope of the civil law is deplorable. Like the other professions, jurisprudence is a shut and barred door through which the multitude never enter with their careless feet. Because this indifference is, however, neither necessary nor

advantageous, the publication of such elementary treatises as that now under consideration should go far to rectify the misconceptions of the law which ordinarily exist. Some of these misconceptions, as pointed out by Professor Russell in his introductory lecture, are that the law "is an expression of ultimate right; that it has its origin in a legislative enactment; that it can be enforced in a community, notwithstanding public sentiment may be against it; that it can create capital, fix the rate of wages, limit the hours of toil, and suspend the operation of the law of supply and demand; that it is the antecedent and cause of public opinion, instead of being the last thing to yield to the pressure of advancing civilization." To rectify these misjudgments, to define the true nature of law, and to present a generally attractive outline of the study of jurisprudence for the uninstructed is the purpose of the present volume. Its defects must be left to the specialist to point out. Of its commendable qualities, its comprehensiveness is not the least conspicuous. Defining at the outset the nature of law in general, it sweeps the field of Roman, feudal, and modern law, considers the irregularities arising from national, social, and commercial relations, discusses the law of evidence and the jurisdiction of courts, and closes with a lecture on "Crimes and their Punishment." Though intended only as an "outline," it is an outline that apparently omits only the unimportant. What is said, moreover, has the quality of clearness. Neither its definitions nor enlargements are couched in that technical phraseology which is the despair of the everyday man; but, relieved of abstrusities, they are clothed in language sufficiently lucid for the ordinary reader. By illustration and reference also to pertinent cases upon the records of the courts the author makes his teaching clear. Dr. Russell has done a difficult service well. While he cannot hope to make trained lawyers of all the nonmatriculants who heard his lectures or of all the readers who may chance upon his book, he has certainly found the way in which to set forth technical and abstract truth attractively before the unthinking. From a layman's standpoint the book has a mission to accomplish in the world.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY

Epochs of Indian History. Edited by JOHN ADAM, M.A. Vol. I: *Ancient India—2000 B. C.—800 A.D.* By ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, C.I.E., I.C.S., author of *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, etc. Vol. II: *The Muhammadans—1001–1761 A. D.* By J. D. REES, C.I.E., I.C.S., author of *Tours in India*, *H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence in Southern India*, etc. Small 16mo, pp. 196, 192. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, each \$1.

The most romantic episode in Alexander the Great's career was his invasion of a portion of India. From his time down to the present day she has exercised a decided influence on the imagination and the destinies of the civilized world. The historian Robertson devoted a volume to a discussion of the commercial relations existing in ancient times between her and the nations of the West. Marco Polo was not the only traveler who pene-

trated to her territories and brought back wonderful tales of strange customs and strange peoples. It was her commerce which enriched the Italian maritime republics in the Middle Ages; and it was the destruction of the old routes formerly followed by that commerce—which was brought about by the progress of Turkish conquest—which led the Portuguese to essay the circumnavigation of Africa and to trace a sea route to the shores of India, and Columbus to still further change the world's history by his discovery of our continent, whose inhabitants he called Indians. Yet the average intelligent man has but a confused conception of India's geography and the vaguest of ideas concerning her institutions, her history, and her industrial and sociological development. To him it is chiefly known as a land of sharply defined contrasts: of cultivated classes and miserably degraded masses; of beautiful temples and wretched homes; of densely compacted populations and vast wildernesses of savage jungle. Histories of India have been written, but are not widely known or easily accessible. The appearance of these volumes, therefore, is opportune. In his Preface the editor says: "To write a history of India on the scale of a Freeman, or even of a Macaulay, would, from the multiplicity and diversity of detail, be a task of superhuman magnitude. The story of India during the past four thousand years is the story, not of one country, but of many countries, not of one nation, but of many nations, told not in one language, but in many languages, and influenced in turn by the greatest religions of the world. In consequence we find the best historical work in the Indian field is bestowed upon special periods or particular areas." He further says: "While it is hoped that the political history of the various epochs will be found sufficient for the student and in accordance with the latest results of research, the first aim of the writers will be to give a history of the Indian people, to follow the varied development of institutions and constitutions, to mark the growth and decay of literature and science, to watch the constant flux of law and religion." The first volume opens with the prehistoric invasion of India by the Aryan Hindoos. For a period of some six hundred years they were occupied in conquering the Punjab from the "dark-skinned aborigines," who stubbornly contested every portion of their land. From the Indus Hindoo colonies spread over the Ganges valley and founded States, which developed a civilization "far in advance of that of their sturdy forefathers of the Punjab." From the north the Hindoos began to overrun, about the year B. C. 1000, the Deccan and southern India. But in northern India "the Aryan races had penetrated in vast numbers into the Punjab and the Gangetic valley, and had all but exterminated or expelled the children of the soil, who were utter barbarians; and the population of northern India therefore is, to the present day, more or less of pure Aryan stock." On the other hand, the Hindoo colonists among the vast aboriginal populations of the Deccan and the South were satisfied "with introducing Hindoo civilization, language, and religion; and to this day the majority of the population of southern and eastern India are of non-Aryan stock, who have adopted the higher civilization, literature, and religion of their Aryan

Hindoo conquerors and teachers." The author describes how the various tribes of northern India were eventually brought under one rule soon after Alexander's retreat; and how all India was united under the sway of the emperors of Magadha and later rulers. A large portion of the book is devoted to the matters mentioned above in the second quotation from the editor's Preface. A period of two centuries, during which Indian history is a blank, separates the first and second volumes of the series. The latter traces the various Mohammedan dynasties down to the period of British occupation. Three other volumes—*The Mahrattas*, *The Dravidians*, and *The British Power in India*—are in preparation and will complete the series. We recommend it to those who desire to understand the past, and therefore better understand the present, of our greatest mission field. They will find here in concise form and in volumes not too formidable much that will explain the present condition of the Indian people. In view of the complications now existing in Korea it would be well if similar volumes, by competent scholars proficient in the native literatures, could be issued regarding the history of the mysterious nations of the extreme Orient.

Life of St. Francis of Assisi. By PAUL SABATIER. Translated by LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON. 8vo, pp. 448. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, \$2.50.

The nature of true sainthood is suggested to the reader as he turns the pages of this exceptional biography. While Francis of Assisi is technically called a "saint" by the decree of the Roman Catholic Church, we cannot feel that his rank in the true body of Christ turns on the official act of pope or other hierarch. Character is the true mark of sainthood. In the Baptist and the Reformed Churches, in Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism, Methodism, and every other denomination of the long list are those who have received substantial canonization. But none the less because Francis was of the Romish faith is his biography instructive. The son of a wealthy cloth merchant, Pietro Bernardone, he was born about 1182, when the troubadours sang their songs and the habits of chivalry were on men. For the many incidents that made up his life, both in his secular career and after his entrance upon the monastic order, the reader must consult the volume itself. The youth of Francis, with its pursuit of pleasure and its dreams of military exploit; the grievous sickness which brought him to repentance; his renunciation of the world in spite of that bitter opposition of Bernardone which haled him before consuls and the bishop; his rise to leadership; the gradual development of his religious order; his self-sacrifices and poverty; the impression on his body of the stigmata of the Crucified; his last days, so full of "radiant beauty" that Thomas of Celano says he "went to meet death singing," are some of the prominent features in the career of this founder of the Franciscan order which, after nearly seven centuries, are again recalled. The story has an emphatically mediæval flavor. The habits of Italian life which prevailed, the degradation into which the Church had fallen, the emphasis upon the value of monastic orders and monkish vows are mat-

ters which the intelligent student of Church history will estimate by the standards of the thirteenth century, rather than of the nineteenth. The great price paid for sainthood by St. Francis—the renunciation of patrimony, the sacrifice of friendships, and monastic poverty—suggests that he who would attain true sainthood must make all sacrifices, and that for the Christian who reckons sainthood as the chief prize sacrifices of every sort are dross. The biography is the story of one of the foremost churchmen of his times, and is not only intrinsically valuable but is besides of importance as a link in the great chain of ecclesiastical history. Certain localisms or phrases vividly remind us that the scene is laid on foreign soil and that the book is a translation. Yet for fullness of detail, for the supplemental study of the historic records consulted, and for general superiority of authorship this life of St. Francis merits a prominent place in the lists of mediæval biography. Though the pope is said to have put his ban upon the publication, because the author is a Protestant, we must respectfully differ in judgment with his holiness, Leo XIII.

Studies in Oriental Social Life, and Gleams from the East on the Sacred Page. By H. CLAY TRUMBULL, Author of *Kadesh-Barnea*, etc. 8vo, pp. 437. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles & Co. Price, cloth, \$2.50.

Probably the value of oriental study has never been more generally recognized by biblical scholars than at the present. The changelessness of the East through the long centuries affords, in the order of divine providence, an overwhelming confirmation of the Scripture record; and in the modern Palestine the student finds a close photograph of that other Palestine which Abraham, Isaiah, and Jesus trod. This truth, although so familiar as to be a truism, is most effectively stated by Mr. Trumbull in his introductory chapter as follows: "The prime advantage of a study of oriental social life is that the past is there found reproduced in the present as reflecting the ancient history of our race. . . . There, that which is, is that which has been; and that which is and has been in the cradle-place of humanity is that which has put its impress upon humanity everywhere. The study of the oriental present is, in fact, a study of the universal past, and therefore it is a study for all and for always." With such a view of the relation existing between modern and ancient orientalism Mr. Trumbull has added a valuable volume to the increasing records of Egyptian archaeologists, Palestine geographers, and Christian students delving in Eastern lands. Some of his chapters cover such matters of social custom as betrothals, weddings, hospitality, funerals, and mourning. In his chapter on "Food in the Desert" he discusses the support of the Israelites on their journey through the wilderness. The symbolism of the pilgrimage idea he finds to be the "consciousness of being absent from the Father's home while yet present in the body." A charming meditation on the person of Jesus and his gift of satisfying water to man is contained in "An Outlook from Jacob's Well;" and in a description of "The Samaritan Passover," as witnessed by him, he finds the ancient rite a shadow of the greater sacrifice to come. His volume

as a whole the author claims to be more than a narrative of personal observation or a miscellaneous gathering of oriental illustrations of Scripture truth; it is rather "a classified treatment of certain phases of oriental life and methods of thought, vivified by personal experiences in the East; and herein it has a distinctive character." To this feature must be added the further consideration of charm of print and beauty of illustration, which make the book more than ordinarily attractive. For the devout inquirer after the significance of Palestine life the volume must quicken faith and promote desire for further investigation.

Benjamin Griffith. Biographical Sketches Contributed by Friends. Edited by CHARLES H. BANES, A.M. 12mo, pp. 206. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.

The leading facts in the life of Dr. Griffith may be easily stated. Born among the Pennsylvania mountains, on the Juniata River, in 1821, he was educated at Madison (now Colgate) University, began his pastorate in the Baptist Church in 1847, entered upon the secretaryship of the American Baptist Publication Society in 1857, and continued in this important service until his recent decease. These items are, however, a meager setting forth of a consecrated, useful, and honored career, whose influence has permeated the entire Baptist Church within the last third of a century. The secret of his success is one of the lessons of this biography. He was not, it is declared, "a genius," yet he was "a man among men, far-sighted, forceful, clear and decided in his convictions, courageous but calm in his expressions. From the moment he assumed the responsibility for an undertaking it entered into and became a part of his life. His purpose was intensified by his best thought and led him to develop and broaden the duty intrusted to him by every proper means at his command." His long and intimate relation to the literature of his Church; his interest in Sunday school work, the Baptist Young People's Union, and orphanage work at Philadelphia; and his sympathy for other benevolent and Christian labor are features in his ended life which are recalled in these biographical papers. His unpretending but hearty biography should come as an inspiration to the young manhood of his denomination and of other creeds.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The First Words from God; or, Truths Made Known in the First Two Chapters of His Holy Word. Also the Harmonizing of the Records of the Resurrection Morning. By FRANCIS W. UPHAM, LL.D., Author of *The Church and Science*, etc. 12mo, pp. 160. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, 85 cents.

Out of the past comes the present, and only a knowledge of the beginning can explain the mysterious future. In this belief Dr. Upham has devoted the first part of his volume to that familiar yet inexhaustible task, the study of the creative days. Reverently accepting the existence of the great First Cause, and the further fact that all organization and life have proceeded from God, he seeks as a Christian scholar to discover the wonders of Scripture cosmology. His method is at once patient,

detailed, and original. Though we have not opportunity to cite the conclusions which he deduces from his investigation of the Hebraic records and his voluminous study of Christian and scientific literature, it is enough to call the attention of the reader to this latest comment on the creative story of Genesis for his leisurely perusal. As to the harmonizing of the four records of the resurrection morning, Dr. Upham has attempted an epitome of the method followed by the late William Sewell, D.D., from 1836 to 1841 professor of moral philosophy at Oxford. That the gospels differ in their narratives of the resurrection is conceded, the fact being that "on Easter morning, at different times, four companies of women visited the holy sepulcher." "Each evangelist," says Dr. Upham, "tells of a visit of which the others say nothing; yet 'in each gospel there are indications that the writer, while giving his own account of what occurred to his own party, had a thorough acquaintance with the fact that there were other visits besides the one which he related.'" The method of proof followed by Dr. Sewell is based upon a microscopic study of the meanings of Greek words, which are commonly translated in the same way, and for the republication of this form of proof the Christian world owes Dr. Upham its sincere gratitude. His book, in a word, is valuable because it is not cheap, narrow, or small. As one who feels the dignity of noble thinking the author moves along the plane of lofty discussion where the horizon is wide and the sunlight bright overhead.

The Friendship of Nature. A New England Chronicle of Birds and Flowers. By MABEL OSGOOD WRIGHT. 24mo, pp. 238. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The writer of this booklet has lived close to the great heart of nature. As we read her words we in turn feel the spell that is upon her spirit. The song of the thrush, the oriole, and the bobolink; the blooming of the larkspur and the aster; the sweeping of the south wind over the mignonette; the weaving of autumn's loom; and the white snows of winter are among the myriad sights and sounds of nature which she interprets and to whose interpretation all hearts give cordial assent. To follow her detailed study of the seasons is not possible. We cannot, however, forego the mention of the hopeful significance which the winter has for her. "Age and winter," as goes her moralizing, "should take for their sign the witch hazel, the flower of unconquered hope." There is no winter or age for the heart that feels nature's throbbings and crowns the earth's beauty with human brotherhood." And then follows a charming and hitherto unpublished letter from him who has found no winter in old age, the perennially vigorous and fruitful Dr. Holmes: "It is a mixed kind of feeling with which one reaches the top of this Pisgah and peeps over into the mists that hover over Jordan. I felt as if Bryant was old and out of sight on his seventieth birthday, but now—bless me! why, what did the psalmist mean with his 'threescore years and ten?' . . . The horizon flies as we travel westward, the sun goes back as it did for Joshua. At fifty years seventy seems like sunset. At seventy we find it is as yet only cheerful, shining afternoon. Nature has more artifices than all the human conjurers that ever lived."

